# Daily Report

# Latin America

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## Latin America

*FBIS-LAT-88-248* *27 December 1988*

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## Cuba

### Study Says Blockade Against Nation Ineffective

*FL2412153088 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Text] The blockade that the United States imposed against Cuba more than 28 years ago has not been able to destroy the country's economy or overthrow the revolution.

This was reported in a study conducted by specialists (C.P. Johns) and (Donald Reese) of the Johns Hopkins University in the United States.

The document suggests that the lifting of the blockade would benefit both nations, as well as U.S. firms. It adds that the blockade against Cuba has created losses for U.S. firms in excess of $30 billion. The document also acknowledges that Washington's anti-Cuban measures in no way influence the decisions made by Cuba's leaders on foreign policy.

The study was appropriately released just as a new U.S. State Department guideline to reinforce the blockade against our country became effective.

### GRANMA Editorial on Tripartite Treaty

*FL2312184288 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1443 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] With the title "The History of Africa Will Be Different Before and After Cuito Cuanavale", GRANMA publishes today on its front page the editorial we now give you textually:

The agreement for peace in southwest Africa was signed yesterday, 22 December 1988, at the UN headquarters in New York. The path taken to reach this agreement has not been easy. With just reason, humanity will recollect this event as a far-reaching moment in contemporary history, and in particular, in the struggle of the African peoples for the attainment of their independence, after centuries of colonial and neocolonial exploitation.

The agreement reached by Cuba and Angola with South Africa represents a triumph of revolutionary ideas and the culmination of a long process of a tenacious confrontation in defense of the sovereignty and integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, as well as the attainment of independence for Namibia. After having decisively contributed to the attainment of these high goals and having put an end to the causes which led to the presence of our troops in Angola, the contingent of 50,000 Cuban internationalist combatants currently in that brother nation will gradually return to the fatherland with satisfaction, and legitimate pride for the duty they fulfilled. Such a glorious page of brotherhood, revolutionary intransigence, and struggle maintained for the just cause of the peoples is not new, it dates back many years. It reached one of its high points, 23 years ago, with the presence in other African territories of the legendary personage of Commander Ernesto Che Guevarra and his comrades in arms. Cuba's solidarity with Angola began from the initial moments of its national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The struggle was undertaken by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, and took much greater dimensions after the triumph of 11 November 1975 when the young state and its revolutionary process were seriously threatened from abroad by the South African racists, imperialism, and their henchmen. President Agostinho Neto, founder of the Angolan nation, with all legitimacy and in accordance with the premises of article 51 of the UN Charter, requested from the revolutionary Government of Cuba the aid necessary to face, halt, and crush foreign military aggression. Faithful to our best traditions of revolutionary struggles and convinced that, as explained by Fidel, to be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity, the Cuban forces were sent by our government quickly answering that historic call.

In one of the most impecable and brilliant military operations ever carried out by a small country, in such a distant place, hundreds of thousands of our compatriots, members of the regular troops, and FAR reservists—without even mentioning civilian cooperation—voluntarily marched to Angola and promptly closed the ranks with their African brothers. Since then, the principal press centers of the West, especially the United States with the most rude and calumnious campaigns, have attempted to taint and distort the sovereign decision and steadfast right of Cuba and Angola—which earned the friendship and support, as well as the admiration of the African peoples and the whole world. However, the truth is the truth, even if they attempted to distort it; and the joint action of the Angolan-Cuban forces thwarted, for the first time, imperialist attempts to liquidate the growing Angolan revolutionary process.

On 27 March 1976, the foreign invaders were expelled and the state borders of that nation were restored. This meant a serious danger, not only for the Angolan people, but also for all Africa. The loss of Angola's sovereignty would have been, undoubtedly, an advance for one of the region's most retrograde forces, as well as a severe blow to the aspirations for peace of the independent countries of southwest Africa, and in general, of the whole continent.

Thus, Cuba's internationalist aid to the brother people of Angola represented a modest but sure contribution to the struggle of African nations against colonialism, racism, and apartheid. After those episodes, the Governments of Angola and Cuba planned voluntarily and sovereignly, on more than one occasion, various timetables for the reduction of the Cuban internationalist contingent. The first of these was signed on 23 April 1976, just 1 month after the expulsion of the racists and their allies from Angolan territory. These chronograms, barely put in effect, could not be continued because of the persistent imperialist interference and because of the continued aggressions of the regime of Pretoria against the territory of the People's Republic of Angola. The large-scale

attack by South Africa in August 1981, during which its troops partially settled in some of the regions of southern Angola with the aim of linking Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalists, blocked the efforts of Angola and Cuba in finding a political solution to the conflict in southwest Africa. The declarations made by the foreign ministers of the two countries on 4 February 1982 and the joint declaration made by the respective governments on 19 March 1984 constituted, at that time and under those circumstances, the Angolan-Cuban negotiating platform for finding a solution. In both documents, the necessary conditions for a political solution to the conflict in southwest Africa were clearly outlined.

Despite the positive actions by Cuba and Angola, the South African prepotency and the (?so-called) policy of constructive engagement—which was (?recommended) by the Reagan administration determined to support apartheid, despite international public opinion—prevented progress in finding a solution for regional peace, with the United States as intermediary initiated in 1982. The Lusaka agreements, signed in 1984 between Angola and South Africa in which Pretoria promised to withdraw from the southern territories of the People's Republic of Angola, were repeatedly violated by the white-minority regime. The regime, through its increase in support to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], attempted to destabilize the government of the MPLA-Labor Party, halt the struggle of the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] combatants, and perpetuate its presence in Namibia. Washington's hypocrisy [farisaismo] by receiving UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in 1985, in addition to the continued South African military escalation, caused the total failure of those initial negotiating attempts.

The visit of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to Havana, in August 1987, was of great importance in the revitalization of the efforts for finding a political solution to the conflict. The communique of that visit reiterated Cuban and Angolan views on the matter of peace talks for southwest Africa. It also expressed publicly, for the first time, the disposition of the two countries to carry out, through joint representation, the negotiations resumed the previous month in Luanda. With the constructive purpose of reaching a just and honorable agreement which would lead to the security of Angola, independence of Namibia, and peace for all the states of southern Africa, the two countries agreed to make more flexible their common position on the basis of the principles for the 1984 platform and its complimentary text.

Toward the end of 1987, South Africa took advantange of a situation created in a certain sector of the southern front which was in its favor, and it launched a new large-scale attack against the Angolan territory. This seriously endangered the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] troops in the region of Cuito Cuanavale, 200 km east of Menongue—the last position of the line of defense of Cuban troops in southern Angola.

The South Africans attempted jointly with members of the UNITA to cause a great military defeat for the FAPLA units and thus require the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] to make important concessions in the talks which were renewed in July 1987 with the mediation of the United States. A real threat was also created for the security of the Cuban troops in southern Angola.

In this complex context, as all our people know, the leadership of the party, in joint agreement with the FAR general staff, on 15 November 1987 adopted the political and military decision to reinforce the Cuban internationalist contingent. The Cuban-Angolan strategy did not only consist of stopping the invader in the region of Cuito Cuanavale and saving the difficult situation that had emerged there, but also on concentrating the necessary forces and means east of the defense line of Menongue, Lubango, and Mocamedes in the area chosen by us and not by the enemy to advance toward the south and pressure the main points of the South African troops.

The racist government of Pretoria and its invading troops were unable to break the resistance, courage, decisiveness, and bravery of the contingent of Cuban-Angolan troops and of the SWAPO in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale. Finally, with their teeth kicked in, defeated after several failed attacks and pressured at vital strategic points in the western sector of the southern front by the impressive grouping of Cuban troops; and after the first few clashes with the Cuban-Angolan-SWAPO exploration team in which they were hit hard; and after the resounding air strike of the Cuban forces in (Caluaque); they saw themselves obligated, much to their regret, to accept the path of negotiation. Angola and Cuba had been advocating this for several years.

This important victory of the Cuban-Angolan weapons [as heard] would bring a new and concrete turn in the negotiations for peace in southwest Africa.

The final stage of the negotiating process began in London in May of this year with the participation of a joint Angola-Cuba delegation, a delegation from South Africa, and with the United States as mediator.

After the talks in the British capital, the quadripartite meetings were held for 7 months without interruption. Fourteen meetings of intense work, step-by-step, were held, but not without confronting reticence and arrogant acts on the part of the South African delegation and, on occasion, the inconsistencies of the mediator itself, which was definitely allied to South Africa.

It is worth noting the meritorious action in the diplomatic area displayed by the joint Angolan-Cuban delegation that conducted itself seriously, skillfully, and with loyalty at all times to the revolutionary and internationalist principles as worthy representatives of their peoples and as equals to the heroic defenders of Cuito Cuanavale.

Last July, in a new meeting held in New York, 17 basic principles were agreed upon for a peaceful solution in southwest Africa. These were made public at the time and were later ratified by the Governments of Angola, Cuba, and South Africa. The achievements of this meeting represented an important step on the road toward a negotiated solution for the region by reaffirming the need to apply UN Security Council Resolution 435 and to guarantee the territorial integrity and complete sovereignty of Angola, as well as the willingness of the governments of Luanda and Havana to deploy to the north and later evacuate to Cuba the entire Cuban military contingent.

An important round of talks was held 1 month later in the Swiss city of Geneva. The protocol signed at this time established 1 November 1988 as the date to begin the UN plan for the decolonization of Namibia.

False and delaying arguments from South Africa alleging disagreements with the timetable on the withdrawal of Cuban troops, a sovereign decision that belongs exclusively to the Governments of Angola and Cuba, at that time prevented the longing of all of progressive humanity from being fulfilled on the date agreed upon at the United Nations. Despite their resistance, the representatives of Pretoria were not able to remove themselves from the inexorable march of history.

Close to the end of the year, last 13 December, the Brazzaville Protocol was signed in the capital of the People's Republic of the Congo in which the parties involved in the talks confirmed their commitment to act according to the principles determined in New York and likewise on the understandings agreed upon in Geneva on last 5 August.

One stage ended yesterday after the culminating meeting at UN headquarters but another one remains that is no less important and not exempt from difficulties. That stage is the implementation of what was signed there. Cuba, faithful to its policy of respect toward international treaties is willing to fulfill to the letter those binding words.

With the Tripartite Agreement between the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, guarantees have been attained for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, for the fulfillment of UN Resolution 435/78 on the independence of Namibia—which, to the indignation of universal demands, South Africa refused to accept for 10 consecutive years—and for the maintenance of peace in southwest Africa.

The second agreement signed by the Governments of Angola and Cuba will conclude the internationalist mission of the Cuban military contingent which returns victoriously and in an orderly fashion to our fatherland.

A small force of military observers from the United Nations will verify, at the request and initiative of Angola and Cuba, this process. The organization and timetables of this process guarantee that the forces remaining in Angola will be sufficiently strong until the time the last group returns to Cuba.

Our people, upon proudly receiving their heroes, reserve for them an important role as a seasoned, disciplined, and unselfish force which will immediately be incorporated into the great battle for the economic development of our country and the construction of socialism under the banners of Marxism-Leninism and the wise guidance of the party and Fidel.

The entire colossal effort undertaken by Cuba in fulfilling its internationalist duty, especially in the months following the decision made in December 1987, occurred at the same time that our people were preparing to confront the tangible threat represented by the most-aggressive and prepotent U.S. administration that we have faced during these 30 years of unyielding battle against the empire.

The momentus peace agreements signed yesterday were born and forged in the battlefields where Cuban, Angolan, and Namibian combatants gave their sweat and blood. Henceforth, the African peoples will be more free and the hateful regime of apartheid will have taken one more step toward its total disappearance which, sooner or later, will be inevitable.

To the more than 300,000 Cubans who through these long years have fulfilled with honor their internationalist duty in that brother country, to the heroes that have written the glorious pages of Cabinda, (Quifandongo), the (Mu.os de Medunda), (Cangamba), Cuito Cuanavale, and the victorious advance through the southwest flank of the southern front of Angola, our people give them their most profound recognition and reiterate that they are proud of them for representing them with dignity and decorum.

On a day like today, of profound patriotic and internationalist meaning, we once again recall the fallen heroes, Cubans and Angolans. To those people, who with the sacrifice of their lives, cemented the road that led to victory, we give our respect, admiration, and our most profound gratitude for what they generously gave.

Also returning with our combatants to the fatherland will be the mortal remains of our brothers which will finally be laid to rest in the land that witnessed their birth and

which was enhanced before the world by their unselfishness and firmness. They will live and will always be among us because, as our national hero Jose Marti said, death is not real when the job of life has been done well.

As Fidel said, the history of Africa will be different before and after Cuito Cuanavale and in that unforgettable feat, the Cuban people will always have a motive for legitimate revolutionary pride.

The GRANMA editorial concludes:

These glorious pages of heroism, of loyalty to the principles of internationalism, to the ideology of the working class, and put to any test will eternally be a source of inspiration, encouragement, and example for the current and future generations of Cubans and for all those who in any part of the world make their cause the case of those exploited and the humble people of the world.

**Television Highlights Tripartite Agreement**
*FL2412032088 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Report by Irma Caceres from New York]

[Text] Although most of the United Nations will be on recess because of end-of-year festivities, the Security Council still has to conduct consultations on the agreements for the southwest African region in New York City, which is experiencing heavy rains.

The top organization will have to ratify the agreements signed here which deal with a very sensitive matter for the United Nations; the implementation of Resolution 435 for Namibia's independence beginning on 1 April 1989. The participants of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly expressed its satisfaction because the implementation of this resolution is made possible after 10 years of constant efforts. The possibility of calling a short session was noted to treat the matters regarding the effective compliance and the financing of this process.

The Brazilian ambassador to the United Nations, who is a member of the Security Council, expressed his opinion on the results of the tripartite agreement.

[Begin Pablo Nogueira recording, identified by caption as permanent Brazilian ambassador to the United Nations] The result of these negotiations is very, very positive and very important, not only for the United Nations but, above all, for southern Africa. Brazil, as a member of the South Atlantic area, looks at this process with special interest. We hope that Namibia, as a fully independent country, can join the South Atlantic area very soon, and cooperate with us in the development of all the potential that is present in the region. I believe this negotiating process, which has resulted in such a great and important success, has been a very positive process because of the specific contribution Angola and Cuba have made. They have participated very efficiently, with a lot of interest, and in a very firm way. This allows—with a positive spirit—to achieve Namibia's independence and opens the possibilities for peace, and a process of national reconciliation in Angola. [end recording]

He also took advantage of the opportunity to note the importance of the treatment given to the development problem during this UN General Assembly session.

[Nogueira] I see, from a very general point of view, that this assembly has been extremely useful to show the reaffirmation of multilateralism as a preferred instrument of diplomatic work. Specifically, I would mention the resolution on the foreign debt which gives Mr Secretary General Perez de Cuellar a very clear mandate to act as an important mediator between creditor and debtor countries to promote a political dialogue. This has always been the fundamental thesis of our Latin American countries regarding the treatment of the debt. [end of recording]

Regarding the great international repercussions of the agreements signed here at the United Nations, the U.S. press has not covered the subject very much. However, reporters accredited to the United Nations have shown much interest. Angolan Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunem responded to the questions on the country's future outlook, compliance with the agreements, and other subjects.

[Begin Van Dunem recording, in Portuguese] The Cubans will observe the timetable which has been set. The Cubans [words indistinct] 1991 if the parties, the other parties respect the precepts which were established. I should take the opportunity to especially note the role played by the Angolan-Cuban delegation in the quadripartite talks which allowed to overcome every impasse, all the difficult moments, which brought the results we have today. [end recording]

Also Jorge Risquet, member of the PCC Politburo and Secretariat and chief of the Cuban delegation who traveled to New York, told the press the significance of these negotiations and its results after complex negotiations with a government with the characteristics of the South African regime, defeated by the Cuban and Angolan forces in southern Angola.

[Begin Risquet recording] A tripartite agreement has been signed. Through it, Namibia will be independent next year and the South African troops will withdraw to the other side of the Orange River. South Africa has committed to end all intervention in Angola's domestic affairs. That is, Namibia's independence and Angola's security have been achieved. With it, we have also fulfilled honorably the mission which brought us to Angola, which was to defend, together with the Angolan people, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity. Therefore, the gradual return of our combatants to the arms of

the fatherland will begin within the set terms. I believe there will be joy in the hearts of all Cubans today. There are more than enough reasons for it because our children are coming back. They return honorably, they return with their duty fulfilled, they return victorious. This is what I wanted to tell the Cuban people. [end recording]

### Agreement 'Political Victory' for Castro

*FL2312171188 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1525 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] The signing of the agreement on southwest Africa represents a great political victory for our country and the African nations, especially Namibia who will attain its deserved independence.

William Terrero Cabrales, deputy from the capital's Playa Municipality, expressed this to Radio Reloj. Tenrero Cabrales is attending the Fourth Regular Sessions of the ANPP [National Assembly of the People's Government] which is being held in Havana's Palace of Conventions.

Tenrero Cabrales was a civilian internationalist for 18 months in Angola. He added that the deputies received the news of the agreement's signing as happily as those who are fulfilling their internationalist duties in the land of Agostinho Neto.

The signing of this agreement should also be considered an achievement of our commander in chief, Fidel Castro, who has always sought a negotiated peace to the African conflict, said Tenrero Cabrales.

### Vice Foreign Minister on Botha UN Speech

*FL2312170388 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Report by unidentified special correspondent in New York]

[Excerpts] The contribution of the Cuban people to the independence of Africa was made evident here today at this international scene where the Tripartite Agreement was signed that will provide security for Angola and independence for Namibia. [passage omitted]

The signing of this agreement is a strong test for the South African regime because it has not responded to the recommendations or appeals, or reacted to the condemnations that the United Nations has made concerning its racist policy and also because of its colonial presence in the territory of Namibia. That is why the speech by South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha cannot seem unusual to us. The speech was openly propagandistic citing the benevolence of his government and, incredibly, its defense of human rights.

Nevertheless, his presence at the United Nations, as well as the presence of the United States, represents, before the entire international community, a commitment to southwest Africa.

For their part, the representatives from Angola and Cuba also agreed to sign and establish the timetable for the gradual withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops once the guarantees for the security and territorial integrity of Angola and the independence of Namibia have been determined.

This document makes it clear that Cuba and Angola reserve the right to modify their decisions in case flagrant violations of the Tripartite Agreement are verified. The bilateral agreement includes the timetable for the conclusion of the internationalist mission of the Cuban military contingent and establishes a period of 27 months for the total application of the timetable beginning 1 April 1989 for Cuba's 50,000-member force.

First, in the area of battle, and then, in the diplomatic area here at the United Nations, the Cuban delegation responded and thus frustrated insinuations made by the South African foreign minister.

Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon was explicit during a press conference granted here.

[Begin Alarcon recording] Mr Botha appears to be—as strange as it may seem—making an attempt at black humor.

In the first place, Mr Botha was given an exceptional privilege, which can only be explained by the fact that a ceremony was held today in the hall of the Economic and Social Council sponsored by the Government of the United States as mediator of these negotiations.

Mr Botha has no right to speak at the United Nations or to sit in any hall in this organization. He was given this privilege today for a short while because it was necessary; and it was good for Mr Botha and Mr Malan [South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan], who accompanied each other, to come here to this house, to come to this building to finally surrender [rendir] their arrogance, to show this organization, what they have had to accept during the quadripartite negotiations. [end recording] [passage omitted]

### Solidarity Acts Held Supporting Tripartite Accord

*FL2412151388 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Text] Hundreds of acts were held yesterday throughout the country in support of the agreements signed at the United Nations on southwest Africa.

The GRANMA editorial, which was published yesterday under the title, "The History of Africa Will Be Different Before and After Cuito Cuanavale," is being read in those acts, which will continue over the next few days.

## Fourth Regular Session of ANPP Concludes

### Castro on Economic Prospects

*FL2412135688 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Text] The Fourth Regular Session of the Third National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] ended its tasks yesterday in Havana.

The deputies approved the general housing law after a lengthy analysis that included several remarks made by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The new law improves the previous one since it converts more than 770,000 families into proprietors. This momentous legislation, which is now in force, prevents housing from becoming a lucrative operation, favors solving the deficit of homes, and benefits practically the entire population.

The Cuban Parliament also approved the reports on the work of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, as well as that on the international activities of the assembly in 1988.

With a thunderous ovation, the deputies welcomed the announcement of the early completion of the expansion of the Miguel Henriquez Hospital in Havana.

The National Assembly agreed that the following year should be called "the 31st Anniversary of the Revolution." The parliamentarians also agreed that the next province to report back will be Ciego de Avila and the next organization to do the same will be the Construction Ministry.

Ernesto Suarez Mendez, deputy from Santiago de Cuba, was unanimously elected secretary of the ANPP. Suarez Mendez replaces Luis Mendez Morejon, who, at the suggestion of the Council of State, will carry out other responsibilities.

During the last session, the Cuban deputies also approved the economic-social development plan for 1989. The plan anticipates a growth of global production from 1 and ½ to 2 and ½ percent during that period. The document indicates that the application of this year's program confirms the progress made by the workers in the rectification process.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro made a conscientious analysis of the prospects next year for the development of the national economy. Fidel enumerated the causes that have negatively affected the Cuban economy during the past few years and he cited falling oil and sugar prices and the devaluation of the dollar as the principal factors. He said that the drought greatly affected 1987 and 1988 and that all these factors created a large scarcity of convertible currency.

Fidel said that the country has made a great effort to meet its commitments, principally in shipping sugar to the USSR and to other socialist countries. A few tons of sugar even had to be imported to meet these commitments, he said. This situation requires us to make an in-depth analysis of each centavo that is invested in the country and make plans that can be adapted to the real situation, he added.

Fidel said that it is necessary to make a greater effort in foreign trade to find solutions to some difficulties.

He later said that our people are making an extraordinary effort and he cited as an example the weeding and attention given to the sugarcane industry, which was the best ever seen. He said that the policy has continued of maintaining what the population has, not affecting their quotas, as well as continuing the principle of giving them priority on what is offered on the parallel market.

Fidel said that the essential health and education services have also been guaranteed and will be maintained at their present levels.

The most important thing in next year's development plan, said Fidel, is to increase the rate of investment with absolute priority placed on those investments that generate income. He stressed that everything that generates income should be fundamental to the country. Fidel also said that priority is placed on the construction of homes, child care centers, polytechnical centers, special schools, bakeries, and other projects.

He added that the technical problems have been resolved at the Che Guevara nickel plant so that operations can begin. He said that work has progressed under the criteria that all industries produce to the top of their capacities.

In reference to the agricultural problem, he said that priority should be placed on the production of equipment, fertilizers, herbicides, and other products to increase productivity. He added that this policy is valid for the sugar industry, as well as for the production of other food items.

Fidel stressed the importance of investments that the country is making, based on Soviet technology, and he said that industrial efficiency should be a strategic goal. One of the most important things about the rectification process, he said, is to not be careless with a single piece of Soviet technology.

Fidel ratified Cuba's position of not renouncing the peoples right to live in peace and dignity and he reaffirmed that, in regard to these principles, Cuba will not vary a single iota. He expressed his desire that the policy of detente throughout the world will have some kind of result and he said that the next few months will be decisive for the progress of worldwide events.

In conclusion, Fidel insisted on the need to work and to continue strengthening the defense of the country and he stressed the next celebration of the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution.

### Castro on Reagan Remark on Libya

*FL2412170188 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1306 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Text] In his speech to the deputies of the Cuban Parliament [National Assembly of the People's Government, ANPP], Commander in Chief Fidel Castro referred to the interest awakened in a few countries in the possibility of investing their capital in Cuba.

There is an abundance of capital in the world, he said. He added that some countries are not willing to loan us their money because they are certain that Third World countries will not be able to repay them.

[Begin Castro recording] There is political stability in our country and this is something that is always considered by those who make investments. That is why there is a better climate of peace throughout the world. We are not outside of that; we're within that climate and this will help a lot in promoting this type of economic prospect. We are seeing the symptoms of all this.

The new administration is still unknown. We will see if it's pragmatic, dogmatic, recalcitrant, or if, unfortunately, its idea is, its idea is [repeats himself] to make peace with the large nations and war against the small ones.

The day before yesterday, I spoke about some information I heard—I think it was on the 21st. It was about some remarks Reagan said about bombing Libya. They said that Libya is constructing a chemical weapons factory and Reagan was holding talks with his NATO allies on the possibility of bombing the factory.

What kind of a world is this; what kind of an order is this if this is the way the empire interprets the law? I can make nuclear weapons or chemical weapons, anything. If a small country somewhere wants to make these weapons —I don't want to say that it's a good idea to make chemical weapons; I'm not discussing that aspect—they have the right to manufacture any type of weapon, just as the United States does.

The United States said: They are manufacturing chemical weapons. I'm considering bombing them.

If that's what the world is coming to, it's tragic. It would be truly tragic. This is a very bad sign. [end recording]

### Convertible Currency Problem

*FL2412162788 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1400 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Remarks by President Fidel Castro at the conclusion of the Fourth Regular Session of the Third National Assembly of the People's Government, ANPP, in Havana's Palace of Conventions on 23 December—recorded]

[Text] The most important thing about this plan is the investment program because that is the focal point. The decisive factors are not the problems we have, but rather what is done to overcome those problems.

We know that our number one problem is convertible currency. Our second fundamental problem is guaranteeing food for the population or improving it. The third important problem pertains to social projects and the social project that affects the most people is housing. Some places have more problems but housing is still a greater problem.

We must have an order of priorities. That is the decisive plan, to develop investments. What have we stated in the investment plan? It has been stated before. However, this time it has been stated more strongly than ever.

Economic investments have to have absolute priority, economic investments. Now, of those economic investments, the ones that generate convertible currency or help us reduce the spending of convertible currency are our first priority.

### Castro Says Soviet Aid Positive

*FL2412174188 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1237 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Text] During remarks made to the deputies at the last session of the National Assembly of the People's Government, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee, described as positive the assistance Cuba has received from the Soviet Union in the economic area.

[Begin Castro recording] The Soviet electrical plants are good. They are satisfactory for us, such as the unit we are installing in the west. The Soviet mechanical plants are very good for us, such as the mechanical plant in Santa Clara. The textile industries are good. The machinery can be more or less modern. The [words indistinct]. There are many Soviet-made industries. The Soviet oil refinery is excellent even though it takes up a lot of room. It is very modern and serves our purpose.

The expansions that were made in the oil sector in Santiago de Cuba with Soviet assistance are good, useful, and produce kerosene, gas, and other things. They are useful.

All these industries that I mentioned earlier are of strategic importance to us. We can begin to use nuclear energy. It's safe. It is not the technology of Chernobyl.

The technology we have is much safer. That project was built with a lot of security measures. After the Chernobyl incident, the Soviets have multiplied the measures which has set us back. It has set us back in building the plant. We have to accept it. We have to resign ourselves to this. It increases the safety of the plant but it can take 2 or 3 more years to finish it. However, it's an industry of great importance and we would not be able to build it without Soviet cooperation.

The mechanical plants in the nickel industry, the factory of Soviet combines are all excellent factories. We manufacture more than 600 combines a year. This also applies to the machinery factory that we built with Bulgarian assistance. It's very important.

Soviet industries, Soviet investments are very important to us. [end recording]

The highest leader of the Cuban revolution later called on the people to work with efficiency. The 13,000 men in construction contingents are examples of this, said Fidel, and he reiterated that we will have only that which we are capable of producing.

[Begin Castro recording] I truly see very good prospects in many areas but we have to go through this period; 1989 and 1990 will be difficult, complicated. There will be great obstacles but the essential thing, the strategic thing is to work to overcome those obstacles with our own best efforts.

From a political point of view, we will defend the victories we have attained. I'm referring to our relations with Socialist countries. We will defend that with firmness, with energy, also with intelligence, common sense, serenity, and equanimity because those victories we've obtained are very important. We must maintain them.

Hopefully, while we are resolving the problem of income, in one way or the other, we will not lose the other victories. However, we must be prepared. If it starts coming to an end, we would have to multiply our efficiency, our productivity. We would have to resolve the problem no matter what. Other peoples have resolved it. The Japanese have done so here and there. We would have to apply our intelligence more. We would have to apply the resources that the country has accumulated. [end recording]

## Isle of Youth Report Back

*FL2312000888 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2302 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] The Isle of Youth report to the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] has been approved after an extensive analysis was made of the enormous development possibilities. Speaking with the first secretary of the party on Isle of Youth, Fidel assessed the possibility of marble extraction and processing and the advantages of using it in hotels under construction in the country.

Fidel inquired about port facilities, exploitation of beaches, and the construction of causeways to link the isle with its keys. During the discussion of the work carried out by the special municipality in the last 10 years, the efforts, economic and social progress made, were noted as well as the potential of its main sectors.

After finishing their studies on the Isle of Youth, students from three continents have graduated as revolutionaries capable of making their modest contribution to the development of their countries. This is the tangible fruit of Cuba's internationalism. This was said by Namibian student (Ieref Mu Katicula), who greeted the ANPP on behalf of 18,000 students from over 30 countries. We will help other lands in coming years, thus, paying the debt of gratitude we have with proletarian internationalism. There is no other possible alternative. The Third World will continue going forward, he stressed in his message. The words of the Namibian student and of Nicaraguan student Reina Martinez, as well as of (Li Song Ye), from Korea, received a loud ovation from all the National Assembly deputies.

The ANPP's Health, Environment, and Community Services Commission submitted to the consideration of the deputies a study on the use, pollution, and preservation of underground and ground waters. It has arrived at the conclusion that the factors that cause the loss of quality of water originate in the effects of socioeconomic activities, mainly because of technological processes. The dumping of industrial and livestock waste into underground and ground waters in urban areas were there are no sewers increases pollution. The introduction of salt water, the increasing use of chemical products in agriculture, and the lack of treatment of waters containing waste are factors which affect the quality of water.

It was reported that the dumping of waste from the livestock-agricultural sector affects the entire country. It was confirmed that most of the sector lacks treatment systems and those who do have them operate poorly. The volume of waste the livestock-agricultural sector produces is estimated to be the equivalent to a population of over 20 million people. The sectors that produce more waste are: sugar industry, liquids of basic and steel working industries, which are very hazardous because of their toxic effects, and sewers, among others.

There are few waste treatment plants at present. The Pitirre plant in Havana, another one in Villa Clara, and one west of Santiago de Cuba are under construction. There are 1,400 stabilization ponds.

The ANPP's Health, Environment, and Community Services Commission made several recommendations. Among them, is the need to place at a higher priority the aqueducts and sewer programs and to consider the feasibility of increasing the measures for the final disposition and treatment of waste. It was noted that complex and expensive measures are needed for the preservation and cleaning up of water and the country's economic

situation does not permit a complete and immediate solution. It was pointed out that Fidel's call for the development of the waterworks projects has boosted a broad construction movement in the construction of projects to substantially improve the use of water.

### Housing Project Report Approved

*FL2312163288 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1514 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] The 468 deputies attending the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] this morning approved the project report on the new housing law.

Severo Aguirre del Cristo, acting president of the assembly, noted the valuable contributions made yesterday by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro on this important legal project. The commander in chief's statements cleared-up some important concepts in this matter.

Deputy Bartolo Gonzalez asked for an explanation on how litigation in lease cases would be solved and who has the right to exercise actions against the tenants.

Rodolfo Davalos, chief of the Housing Institute's Judicial Consultant's Office, who gets his authorization from the assembly, explained that only the proprietors have the right to exercise action against tenants.

### Castro on Housing Repair

*FL2312200388 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] And now we go to the special news team at Havana's Palace of Conventions for an update on the recent developments and debates at the National Assembly of the People's Government. [passage omitted]

Deputy Fidel Castro's attention was drawn to the expeditures which, up to a few months ago, were being inflicted on the population by the Housing Repair and Maintenance Enterprises. Castro expressed his opinions on that topic and brought up the remarks made by the president of the people's government in the capital. He also spoke of the experiences encountered and progress made by the social minibrigades in Marianao during the past year. [Begin Castro Recording] The Maintenance Enterprise of the People's Government should be done away with. It's an absolute swindle. No one in this country can repair a house with the Maintenance Enterprise of the People's Government because they charge 20,000, 25,000, or 30,000 pesos. The enterprises would sell the materials and charge for them as if they had been installed. This is one of the most horrifying things we found when we made some serious studies of the problems in some of these enterprises.

The enterprises in Havana dedicated themselves to robbing people, and I suspect it's the same story throughout the country. You'll notice that when these enterprises where forbidden to sell materials and charge for them as if they had been installed, which is something they even used to do to schools and hospitals, from the 8,000 pesos they used to produce [words indistinct] left at 4,000 pesos. So those enterprises, as such, should disappear. I think that sooner or later they will disappear.

They will be replaced by something tolerable. They will be replaced by social minibrigades for housing repairs. They produce all of those things for much less, and they do it with the participation of residents and relatives. With these brigades, maintenance has a bit of social assistance. This even helps the people who have a slightly better income! No matter how good a person's income is, do you think he would want to employ a crook or one of these super illegal street vendors [supermerolicos]? A person can't spend 25,000 pesos, 20,000 pesos, or 15,000 pesos on housing repairs. That's highway robbery.

Now we are trying to provide repairs at cost. Marianao started this project. They must have experience in this; I think they can tell us...[changes thought] They must have found some cases like this because when they go to repair a building, they repair the whole building. They repair it even if the building has 5, 8, 9, 10, or 12 apartments with retired people, people on social assistance, and all those people. I think it is the only practical solution to this problem.

We don't see housing repairs as a business.[end recording]

### Fidel, Raul Castro Attend Stage Production

*FL2312204388 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] In a cultural activity organized in honor of the present National Assembly of the People's Government, ANPP, session the deputies saw the first theatrical presentation of a Gabriel Garcia-Marquez play, which won the Nobel Prize for literature. The play was shown in the Coba Rubia Hall of the National Theater.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC and president of the Councils of State and Ministers, saw the diatribal monologue of "Amor Contra un Hombre Sentado" written by Colombian Gabriel Garcia-Marquez especially for actress (Graciela Dufo). Army General Raul Castro, deputies, and guests of the Fourth Regular Session of the Third ANPP were also present. [passage omitted]

[Castro] I liked it very much. It was a very good performance, of course, on behalf of Graciela. Where we were sitting it was a little difficult for us to hear at first. We had to get our ear accustomed to the sound. We were asking where the sound was better; up in front or in the back? Nowhere. So at first, we had a little trouble adapting our ear to the sound. Congratulations. [Video shows Castro embracing actress] [Passage omitted]

## Dominican Republic

### * Pena Gomez Says 'Struggle for Power' Exists

*32480045a Santo Domingo EL CARIBE in Spanish 29 Oct 88 pp 1, 4*

[Excerpts] Dr Jose Francisco Pena Gomez claimed yesterday that the government is "destroying the national economy," and hence he has decided to go on the offensive and oppose President Joaquin Balaguer, "because the struggle for power has begun."

The head of one of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) factions remarked: "We have given President Balaguer a 2-year truce, but the results of that truce and of his government action have been discouraging."

He added: "Dr Balaguer has been a good administration from a political standpoint, but a disastrous administration from an economic standpoint."

At a press conference held at the PRD's national residence, Dr Pena Gomez commented: "If the indexes on economic growth are compared for sectors of the economy other than the construction industry, we would see that this government is destroying the national economy."

He said: "This government destroyed the mortgage banks; this government destroyed the hog industry, the revised hog industry reconstructed by the PRD government. This government distributed 40 million pigs to the peasants in a credit program that failed, because not a single one of those pigs is left. They had to be slaughtered because it was impossible to feed them."

He added: "This government destroyed the country's poultry industry; this government, which is engaged in extraordinary, monumental construction, has completely destroyed the private housing construction industry."

The PRD leader noted: "There is not a single construction company here engaged in building housing for the middle class and for the poor. Here, only big towers and large housing complexes for absent Dominicans, but not for Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic, are being built."

He said: "This government has led agriculture to the point of stagnation; this government has created a situation of widespread bankruptcy for the informal financial sector."

He claimed that the economic crisis currently besetting the country is due to "massive export of capital."

He added: "For this reason, we have decided to go on the offensive, and we shall never lose the offensive again. Gentlemen, PRD has taken the floor to put up opposition; the truce has now ended, and the power struggle has begun."

He maintained: "Dr Balaguer's government asked us, the opposition leaders, for a 2-year truce—we who never received nor were ever the object of any truce from our adversaries, because they have attacked us brutally since we first gave them that truce."

He observed: "They have attacked us up and down. When we were in the government, they attacked us. For example, they attacked me as a mayor. They didn't let me rest; every day that I showed up on a street, they featured me on the front page."

He added that in the opposition, "they have not given us a truce either; nevertheless, we gave Dr Balaguer a 2-year truce. It could virtually be claimed that we put up no opposition during the first two years of his term." [passage omitted]

Besides Pena Gomez, also speaking at the press conference were PRD leaders Hatuey Decamps Jimenez and Rafael Gamundi Cordero who both declared that tomorrow's PRD rally would be a "success."

### * People's Electoral Front Supports Pena Gomez

*32480045b Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 25 Nov 88 p 16*

[Text] Although it is still 18 months before the elections, the preparations have begun in the country. In this connection, eight political groups have combined views and established a "People's Electoral Front [FEP]," around the figure of Dr Jose Francisco Pena Gomez.

These groups are the 24 April Party, the Dominican Social Liberation Party (PASODOL), Republican Alliance, Democratic Socialist Movement, Democratic People's Revolutionary Party, Dominican Social Democratic Party, and Independent Electoral Youth.

The main leaders of these groups are the former constitutionalist minister, Hector Aristy, and Drs Hector Pena Ramos, Jorge Perez, Carlos Garcia, Jose Florentino Sanchez, Diomedes Remigio, and Luis Diaz Martinez.

Jose Francisco Pena Guaba, Pena Gomez' son, appears as national director for organization and executive secretary of the front's management committee.

In a public statement, the groups claimed that the People's Electoral Front is "an autonomous political body of a dynamic, democratic, and pluralistic nature."

They note that they have joined politically in an effort to support Pena Gomez, upon the reconfirmation by the nation's supreme electoral body of his status as head of the organization that "he has been leading for more than 27 years, overcoming obstacles that seemed insurmountable."

Among other things, they criticized Dr Joaquin Balaguer's government, remarking that an inestimable volume of economic resources has been disbursed by him in unproductive areas, generating "a frightful economic maladjustment, marked by the outlay of over 3.4 billion pesos, most of which was allocated to the construction field, unmercifully diverting attention from the basic governmental responsibilities relating to food, health, education, and growing unemployment, and also to other goods essential for life."

They noted that they have combined not only around Pena Gomez' "internationally-recognized figure," but also to become "an indispensable political instrument for devising, consolidating, and developing an extensive government program that will meet the Dominican people's essential aspirations."

## El Salvador

### President Duarte Travels to U.S. Hospital

*PA2712015188 Paris AFP in Spanish 0118 GMT 27 Dec 88*

[Text] San Salvador, 26 Dec (AFP)—Official sources in San Salvador reported today that Jose Napoleon Duarte, the ailing Salvadoran president who has been under medical treatment for terminal liver cancer for the past 6 months, traveled to the United States today.

Communications Minister Roberto Viera said that President Duarte, who suffered a relapse while attending Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's inauguration in early December, left for Washington this morning to receive medical treatment at Walter Reed Military Hospital.

Viera said that President Duarte will remain in the United States for at least 2 days during which his doctors will "re-evaluate" the treatment he is receiving.

Duarte was undergoing chemotherapy but his last treatment in November had side effects and the president had to be hospitalized while in Mexico City.

Viera said that further chemotherapy treatment will depend on the results of examinations performed by the doctors at Walter Reed Military Hospital.

The official said that Duarte's health remains "stable" and that the president will return to El Salvador at the end of the week where he will spend New Year's with his family.

### Foreign Minister Sees No Changes in Summit Plans

*PA2312145888 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Report by Marco Antonio Guevara—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Salvadoran Foreign Minister Ricardo Acevedo Peralta today reiterated that there will be no changes in the plans for holding the Central American summit in El Salvador on 15 and 16 January. He added that, by the same token, the foreign ministers meeting scheduled prior to the summit has not been affected by the announcement that the International Court of Justice will hear Nicaragua's case against Honduras.

[Acevedo] "It is important that we not abandon this political initiative, because it will bring the best results in solving some of our countries' bilateral differences, including those between El Salvador and Nicaragua.

"We are going to ask Nicaragua once again—for the umpteenth time—to stop helping the FMLN. That assistance violates the Esquipulas II Agreements. I think the presidential summit—the Esquipulas II framework—is the right occasion for bringing this up. We will make significant progress within the Esquipulas II process by creating the two commissions for security and political verification. I think this should be reason enough for Nicaragua to withdraw its case against Honduras. The Honduran Government is concerned, but I think we will continue our political efforts to overcome these differences."

The invitations to the presidential summit were issued today. Acevedo said there could not be a better opportunity for making important decisions for Central America.

[Azevedo] "We have the obligation to demand that Nicaragua settle these differences at the political level. We are creating a border surveillance commission, which I believe will benefit Nicaragua, as it will reduce the contras' influence as a military group.

"Important steps are being taken at the political level to tone down the region's crisis. Therefore, Nicaragua also needs to show its goodwill toward the other Central American countries that have greatly aided it in its struggle against the contras.

"At any rate, it is a duty and an obligation to ask the Nicaraguan Government to withdraw its case against Honduras, because it definitely obstructs the political peace process in the framework of Esquipulas II. There is no reason why the process should be annulled or eliminated."

In conclusion, Acevedo said the Salvadoran people should feel proud of the government's efforts in foreign affairs. He pointed out that 1988 has been a year of great achievements in Salvadoran diplomacy and in the democratic process.

### Legislative Assembly Fires Attorney General

*PA2512134088 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Report by Mauricio Funes]

[Excerpts] The Salvadoran National Assembly tonight decided to fire Salvadoran Attorney General Roberto Giron Flores, despite his own self-defense. Roberto Garcia Alvarado was appointed new attorney general. [passage omitted]

Giron Flores said the Assembly cannot say he does not know the law—he said the Assembly's members based their views on the personal opinion of one legislator, who disagrees with the legal allegation Giron presented when he defended the constitutionality of the attorney general's organic law. [passage omitted]

[Begin Giron recording] I believe the Attorney General's Office organic law is constitutional, because in a public ceremony the Salvadoran president presented the bill to the Assembly plenum. If you believe that law is illegal, based on other than legal reasons, then you also have to admit the illegality was committed by the Legislative

Assembly, which held a plenum in Sensutepeque to receive the bill, and by the executive branch—including the president—which presented the bill to that plenum. The Assembly accepted the bill that day, along with 54 other bills, most of which are already laws. Therefore, it is surprising that the Assembly only declared that bill unconstitutional. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The dismissal of Attorney General Giron Flores was favored by the Nationalist Republican Alliance [ARENA] deputies, who said Giron is not competent enough to continue occupying that post. [passage omitted]

### ARENA's Ochoa on 'Mercenaries,' Lack of Will

*PA2512141388 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Report by Ernesto Rivas]

[Text] [Rivas] Nationalist Republican Alliance [ARENA] leader Sigifredo Ochoa Perez said today in the Buenos Dias program [not further identified] that U.S. citizens and other foreigners, whom he described as mercenaries, must leave our country.

Salvadoran retired Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa said today that to end the war in our country, we need very definite plans and goals, because the struggle in El Salvador is between the democratic system and the Marxist system.

Similarly, Ochoa Perez said to end the conflict, we must not allow foreign interference:

[Begin recording] [Ochoa] The problem is not only military. The military aspect of our problem plays a very important role, that is true, but we need plans, goals, and a will to struggle to win the war. We lack all that.

The United States says this and that. The United States should go to hell. The Nicaraguans, the Cubans, all these Venezuelans such as those of [word indistinct] should go to hell. They are here. We have reports they are here again. Those ill-fated people such as [name indistinct] who was criticized in Chile are here. That is the kind of people the Salvadoran Christian Democratic Party [PDC] has. They are political mercenaries, and because they are foreigners, they could care less about destruction and death in our country.

The PDC has its own police, and I believe if the PDC continues walking in that direction, it would in fact serve the FMLN-FDR goals. [end recording]

[Rivas] Discussing the increasing violence in the country, Ochoa said it shows the guerrilla movement is fulfilling its plans. He blamed the government for that, because it allows disunity in the Army's internal front:

[Ochoa] [Begin recording] The president and Armed Forces general commander is responsible for that situation. He does nothing and is unaware of the country's reality. He is responsible for that situation, because he leads the country.

First, there is no unity in the Army's internal front. We are divided because of the government's actions. We have a vindictive government. It wants to get revenge on the productive sectors, the opposition groups, and even on PDC members who do not follow the government's guidelines.

[Reporter] Why vindictive?

[Ochoa] Vindictive because it is a government that took over to, quote—take revenge—unquote, as Duarte says in his book. That government took office to get revenge for all the things others supposedly did to it. [end recording]

[Rivas] Ochoa added that El Salvador needs a government that has true leadership and that seeks national unity. He called on the various political parties to jointly seek a solution to the war, because in his opinion, the war continues because of the lack of political will and a good Armed Forces general commander.

### FMLN Attempts Attack on Joint Staff Building

*PA2312180788 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1730 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] FMLN urban guerrillas attacked the Armed Forces' Joint General Staff building this morning. The installation is located near the international fairgrounds in San Salvador.

Military spokesmen, who had remained silent up to now, have only reported that several mortar shells were fired at the Joint General Staff building. It seems that the attack failed because the shells fell on La Lechuza Tube Factory, a firm owned by the Public Works Ministry.

Smoke is coming from the area where the shells fell. A large military security operation is under way. Helicopters are also visible in the area. [passage indistinct]

### Casualties Cited in Attack

*PA2312194688 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] We are transmitting directly and live from the site where the guerrillas launched an attack on the Armed Forces' Joint General Staff building this morning.

We have an unofficial casualty report from this guerrilla attack. We have learned that three people were killed inside the Joint General Staff building, including Roberto Melendez of the Joint General Staff's Legal Department. We were also told that four civilians were wounded inside the building.

In addition, we learned that 81-mm mortars were used to fire approximately six shells in the attack. Four vehicles, including one that the attackers used as a car bomb, (?were destroyed) inside the Joint General Staff installations.

We were also told that a high-ranking officer was wounded and is still inside the building.

The media has not been permitted access to the Joint General Staff installations.

### Venceremos Reports Attack

*PA2412005188 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0021 GMT 24 Dec 88*

["War Report No 1" issued by the FMLN General Command on 23 December]

[Text] This is a preliminary report for 23 December, when we carried out a successful strategic action in the capital, San Salvador. Today, 23 December, at 1045, a group of FMLN urban guerrillas staged an attack with industrial and homemade artillery and rifle fire on the Armed Forces' joint general staff building. The offices of the Defense Ministry and the Command School of the Armed Forces were also hit. The following were destroyed: The Joint [word indistinct] and Logistics Department, the Legal Department, and other administrative offices.

This operation continues our campaign "All the People Prepare the Insurrection."

It is reported that there was a large number of dead and wounded, including high-ranking Army officers.

### Further on Venceremos Report

*PA2412012388 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0035 GMT 24 Dec 88*

["War Report No 2" issued by the FMLN General Command in El Salvador on 23 December]

[Text] This is preliminary war report No 2 on the operation against the headquarters of the Salvadoran Armed Forces' general staff. Today, 23 December, at 1045, a group of FMLN urban commandos successfully carried out a crushing attack with people's artillery fire on the installations of the Armed Forces general staff, the Defense Ministry, and the U.S. military advisers command.

The attack was staged from two flanks, and accurate artillery fire hit the administrative offices, the offices of the five departments of the general staff, and the parking lot. Preliminary reports obtained by the FMLN indicate that at least (?13) officers, including a high-ranking officer, and an undetermined number of the paramilitary and administrative personnel were killed or wounded. The FMLN has yet to confirm the fate of the U.S. military personnel who were inside the military complex at the time of the attack.

This bold operation, which falls within the campaign "All the People Prepare the Insurrection," was directed against the main center of the counterinsurgency war; against a group of those mainly responsible for the constant wave of crimes, violence, and terror against the Salvadoran people; against those who have trampled the national sovereignty and dignity; against those who head the death squads; in short, against a group of the main enemies of the Salvadoran people.

The FMLN will continue to hit the corrupt leadership of the puppet army and it calls on the honest officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers of the Armed Forces to disassociate themselves from the Army high command, which is leading them to chaos and ruin.

We call on our people to get ready for great struggles in 1989 so that together we will achieve future and great popular victories. All the people prepare the insurrection.
[Signed] FMLN General Command
El Salvador, 23 December 1988

### "War Report No 3"

*PA2512035888 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0010 GMT 25 Dec 88*

["War Report No 3" issued by the FMLN General Command on 24 December]

[Text] To give continuity to the campaign "All the People Prepare the Insurrection," a group of urban commandos [words indistinct] the insurrection against the Defense Ministry and the joint general staff of the puppet army. For this action, carried out 4 days after another group of urban commandos carried out a successful operation against the Air Force headquarters—causing great destruction of aircraft and installations—[words indistinct].

In the attack against the general staff we used two units of mobile popular artillery and lobbed 10 shells into the installations that exploded (?simultaneously), causing considerable destruction and a large number of casualties, including several officers.

We have confirmed the complete destruction of the operations and logistics departments of the joint general staff, and the legal department. Other departments of the joint general staff were damaged as were several Defense Ministry offices. A number of vehicles inside the installations were also destroyed.

The Air Force closed its doors and has denied access to reporters. The damage was so extensive that the Air Force worked for several hours trying to clean up and repair the damaged areas. [Words indistinct] show the damage to the news media caused by the 15 rounds of the peoples' artillery launched by the mobile units. General

Diaz Casanova became (?angry) with the media. The peoples' artillery made him spend a lot of time on the floor, trembling with terror, and he has (?tried to hide everything).

At the (?guard) our commandos used one-third of the explosives they used against the Air Force and the general staff. The Army recognized its mistake of showing reporters [words indistinct] saw with their own eyes the garrison of [name indistinct] reduced to ashes. General Vides Casanova could hide it then, but they will not be able to do so every time.

Yesterday we used three charges, today it was 25, and next time it may be 100 and there will be no one to prevent the media from photographing the rubble. Our commandos will continue to attack all the hiding places of murderers of the people. Legitimate information about this devastating blow follows: [number indistinct] casualties, including dead and wounded, and including three high-ranking officers. In addition to the destruction described, [words indistinct].

(?Companero) fighters, revolutionaries, guarantee of victory. All the people prepare for the insurrection. To fight until the final victory. Revolution of death, we shall win. [signed] FMLN General Command

### Defense Minister Condemns Attack

*PA2312220088 Paris AFP in Spanish 2105 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] San Salvador, 23 Dec (AFP)—Salvadoran Defense Minister Eugenio Vides Casanova has condemned today's guerrilla attack on the Salvadoran Army's joint staff's headquarters, terming it "a terrorist action aimed at intimidating the people."

Vides confirmed that two civilians were killed in the attack—one of whom was Roberto Melendez, legal adviser to the Army—but noted that there were no military casualties as had been originally reported by other military sources.

The minister explained that the rebels set off a car bomb at the main entrance to the joint staff's headquarters and simultaneously launched dynamite charges that damaged the legal office, the Defense Ministry auditorium, and other military installations.

The explosion of the car bomb killed Luis Andrade and wounded seven civilians who were in front of the building. A doctor and two administrative employees were also seriously wounded inside the garrison.

"The subversives' plans are clear: They want to intimidate the people with this type of terrorist action in order to hinder the coming elections and exert pressure for a negotiated solution to the war," Vides said during an impromptu news conference.

Vides asserted that the guerrilla attack on the General Staff's headquarters and the Defense Ministry, located in the center of San Salvador, reflects the rebels' desperation over the failure of their armed actions in the interior of the country.

Today's guerrilla attack is the second in this capital, where the rebels also set off two car bombs Tuesday in front of the Air Force's headquarters in Ilopango, 9 km north of downtown San Salvador.

The guerrilla action also coincides with the Army's rejection of a military truce proposed by the FMLN, which was to run from 23 December to 1 January.

An eyewitness to the guerrilla attack today at noon against the Salvadoran Army's joint staff building said "several men arrived at the entrance of the general staff building with a car loaded with Christmas gifts. The car exploded seconds after they left."

Amid the confusion, soldiers who were on patrol around the building first told the press that a second car bomb had exploded inside the garrison and that three soldiers had died.

### State of Siege Discussed

*PA2412040588 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0315 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Report by Alfredo Villareal]

[Text] Defense Minister General Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova said after the attack on the general staff building that among the options available to the government is the possibility of declaring a state of siege throughout the country if the wave of violence continues. The officer also said that explosive material used for attacks is stored at the National University of El Salvador.

[Begin Vides Casanova recording] We are not intimidated by this kind of operation. Democracy has instruments with which we can use to make our control much more effective. The day that violence increases, we can resort to a state of siege and to curfews, and we can undertake general searches in the urban area. We have information about many elements coming from the National University that carry out this type of action. At any time we could also search the National University and all the installations where we have information that this type of explosive is being stored. The Armed Forces will continue to remain calm. We also want to tell you that if at any time the situation so requires it, we will use the appropriate laws or create the adequate means to have much more effective control in the area. [end recording]

Asked about the university's charges that the Army was responsible for the midnight attack on the Biology Department, which claimed the life of a custodian, Gen

Vides Casanova denied the charges and said the Armed Forces are waiting for the appropriate moment to act with regard to the university.

[Begin recording] [Vides Casanova] We do not need to go around placing bombs in the National University. When we have to intervene, we will do so with the laws to back us up and, if possible, with the presence of all of you [journalists]. The only thing I want to tell you is that they are not going to make us act hastily. We are going to continue to act calmly, strictly enforcing the law. We are going to act at the moment we deem opportune and not when they want to provoke us so as to cause a negative international image for us.

[Reporter] If you say that there are weapons inside the university, why don't you act?

[Vides Casanova] We obviously have to wait for the opportune time. Remember that we are experiencing political times and in politics one does not only need to have reason on his side but one must know when to act. An action at this time might not be beneficial for our democratic process. You can be sure that the Salvadoran people will be the ones that at a specific time will demand that we take this type of action. Meanwhile, we have the appropriate plans ready to use at the necessary time. [end recording]

### Bishop Criticizes Car Bombs

*PA2612020488 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1845 GMT 25 Dec 88*

[Text] San Salvador, 25 Dec (ACAN-EFE)—Gregorio Rosa Chavez, auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, today harshly criticized the use of car bombs by the guerrillas in attacks against military garrisons and rebel threats against mayors.

"The church pleads for an end to the war, which long ago lost all legitimacy in El Salvador. The people have decided in favor of a non-violent solution. Therefore, we condemn the terrorist attacks with car bombs, which hurt the civilian population," said the bishop.

On 23 December the guerrillas used car bombs to attack the Armed Forces joint general staff headquarters, causing the death of two civilians, injuring 38 persons, and destroying several Army offices and private businesses.

Rosa Chavez condemned the guerrilla threats against mayors of local governments in various parts of the country.

The guerrillas have already killed eight mayors and forced 11 to resign in the eastern and southern part of the country.

"There is no justification for it and it shows a lack of respect for individual freedom. One cannot respect the people and use violence at the same time," said Rosa Chavez.

In his Sunday [25 December] homily at the Metropolitan Cathedral, Rosa Chavez criticized the annulment of the detention order of Captain Alvaro Saravia, accused by the Salvadoran Government of having participated in the murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero in 1980.

He deplored the Supreme Court of Justice's decision to annul the arrest warrant against Alvaro Saravia, accused by an eyewitness of Romero's death. He [not further identified] was very critical of Carlos Humberto Romero's military government.

"This man (Saravia) has very valuable information. We deplore the decision to annul his extradition because it will make it impossible to learn the truth. Although it is known who the murderers were, under the present justice system we will never be able to prove it," he said.

Alleging "lack of merit" the Supreme Court decided to annul Saravia's detention order. He was captured several months ago by the immigration authorities in Miami.

Rosa Chavez criticized the dismissal by the Legislative Assembly of Attorney General Roberto Giron Flores. The Assembly is controlled by the rightist Nationalist Republican Alliance, which also accused the attorney general of incompetence and immorality.

### New Anticommunist Group Threatens FMLN, FDR

*PA2712010988 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2236 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] San Salvador, 26 Dec (ACAN-EFE)—A new anticommunist organization appeared today in El Salvador, threatening guerrilla commanders, union leaders, and leftist politicians and their families with "total extermination".

In a communique released today, the Revolutionary Anticommunist Extermination Action , ARDE, [Accion Anticomunista Revolucionaria de Exterminio] has threatened to exterminate "the terrorist murdering hordes" according to an extermination plan that went into effect on 23 December, but was disclosed today.

According to ARDE, for every "car bomb" that the guerrillas explode, "we will explode at least one bomb in the home of a communist leader, or known supporter, or stooge, and his family."

In the same way, for every mayor forced to resign by the rebels, a "communist leader" will be executed; for every person kidnapped or murdered, two leaders will be executed.

The list of possible ARDE victims is headed by FMLN commanders Shafik Handal and Ferman Cienfuegos, Democratic Convergence presidential candidate Guillermo Ungo, and the Social Christian leader Ruben Zamora.

The list also includes the names of Luis Argueta Antillon, rector of the University of El Salvador, and labor union leaders whom the group has described as "communists."

ARDE said that because of the Armed Forces' inability to curb terrorism and the silence of humanitarian organizations that have not condemned the guerrilla attacks, "we will use force and other means used by the guerrillas."

The anticommunist organization has also called on its rank and file throughout the country to keep an eye on the "known extreme left" leaders, to "check their homes and the homes of their families for immediate action against them."

The organization has also demanded that the media broadcast their communique six times a day for the next 3 days. If they do not, "they will be violently attacked."

ARDE adds that these measures will put an end to the "criminal attacks announced by the terrorists during the Christmas and New Year holidays."

The communique concludes by stating "death to the FMLN and the FDR, death to international communism, to the traitors of the homeland, and to their stooges."

**Mayors Continue To Resign Due to FMLN Threats**
*PA2712125388 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 27 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] As a result of FMLN death threats, 18 mayors have resigned. According to reports, in the past few hours, three mayors in Chalatenango, San Miguel, and La Paz Departments resigned just before the rebels' deadline expired. The report adds that the mayors of Ciudad Barrios, Santa Maria Ospina, and Tejulta resigned to avoid being killed. At this time, 18 towns in the country have no mayors. This is because the FMLN considers mayors to be Army supporters.

ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] presidential candidate Alfredo Cristiani today said that among the various measures adopted to protect the mayors against the FMLN threats, there is a law by which municipal officials can take temporary leave from office. [passage omitted]

[Begin Cristiani recording] This is an FMLN strategy. They want everyone to think they control some areas in the country and that there are no elected or appointed local government officials in those areas. That is their idea.

It is very easy to threaten a person, a mayor, and after the deaths of seven (?mayors), I cannot blame those mayors for thinking about themselves first. But this does not mean the FMLN controls those areas. This only means the FMLN is capable of killing anyone in cold blood. They have proven this in the past. They are irrational killers.

I believe we have two possible solutions to the problem: One solution could be the law approved by the Legislative Assembly on Friday [words indistinct], and the second would be for the Armed Forces—and this is something that is still being studied and analyzed—to protect the municipal authorities who have been threatened. [passage omitted] [end recording]

**University Bombed; Rector Blames Armed Forces**
*PA2412195688 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Report by Alfredo Villareal]

[Text] A National Salvadoran University watchman was killed last night, and three powerful bombs damaged the Biology School.

Roberto Gomez Aguirre, 39, was shot to death by a group of heavily armed men who entered the university campus after midnight. They placed three powerful bombs outside the Biology School building. The building was partially destroyed, as was the research equipment inside. Property damage totals approximately 1 million colons.

This incident has alarmed and horrified the university community, which succeeded in raising the university budget after holding a series of street demonstrations.

According to university professors, the property destroyed was invaluable, mainly because it represented over 30 years of biology research.

[Begin recording of unidentified speaker] It is incredible that people exist who can cause that kind of damage. Our school is dedicated to biological research in various fields, including plants, animals, soil, fungus, and others. It is incredible that people want to destroy that work. Those people must definitely be enemies of science, culture, and university studies. I do not know in what world those people live, because I cannot understand them. Do you see this? This was the greenhouse. It is one of the oldest Central American greenhouses. It was the only one in El Salvador, and they destroyed it. Whom are they harming with this action? [end recording]

The university officials vigorously condemned the watchman's death, because he was killed in cold blood. He only had a flashlight on him and no weapons. The body was identified by the relevant judicial officials, who determined he was shot four times with 9-mm bullets, one of which hit his face.

After inspecting the damage to the building, the university officials held a news conference in which the rector blamed the Salvadoran Armed Forces and Government for this attack on the university.

[Begin university rector recording] This attack is the beginning of an aggression whose purpose is not only to repress but to totally destroy our institution. It is important to realize the time in which this aggression takes place. It is taking place while the war in El Salvador is worsening. That means the Armed Forces will turn on the university because they are unable to end the war. [end recording]

In the last 6 months, four university members have been killed, and none of the crimes have been solved. Those crimes increase the tension between the university, described by the Army as a guerrilla sanctuary, and the government, which is accused of repressing the university community.

## Guatemala

### U.S. Troop Presence Not Constitutional Violation

*PA2412043288 Guatemala City LA HORA in Spanish 20 Dec 88 p 5*

[Text] Asked about the presence in Guatemala of 40 U.S. soldiers, Guatemalan Army spokesman Colonel Luis Isaacs Rodriguez said today that "the presence of a small special U.S. military unit in Peten Department does not require congressional authorization."

"The presence of a battalion or the installation of a military base would have required the appropriate authorization," added Isaacs Rodriguez, "but this is not a troop deployment—we are referring to a small unit."

The Armed Forces' spokesman referred to the case as a mere "exchange" and explained that it is not regulated by Article 11 of the Constitution.

The presence of the U.S. soldiers was revealed by the Anthropology and History Institute workers union. The union charged that the U.S. soldiers, along with Kaibiles [Guatemalan troops specializing in counterinsurgency actions], had carried out operations in the area of Yaxja lagoon, near Tikal.

The union also charged that during their training, the U.S. troops harmed the country's historical heritage and the region's flora and fauna.

LA HORA confirmed that 40 U.S. soldiers arrived in the country from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in order to train with Guatemalan soldiers.

"The U.S. Embassy has also given the appropriate explanations about this," the Army spokesman said, adding that the soldiers came to the country as part of an ordinary technical exchange, which is normal between armies.

"Fort Bragg is a strategic unit and its soldiers share with other armies the experiences they acquire during their training overseas," he said. This is beneficial for the technical development of our Army.

Col Luis Isaacs Rodriguez denied the union members' charges, explaining that they are misinformed because the operations took place between 28 November and 12 December, rather than when the union members said they were held.

Col Isaacs added that the training was confined solely to the Kaibiles' school and that the soldiers never went outside that area.

### Police Confiscate Cocaine Worth $70 Million

*PA2312033788 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2114 GMT 21 Dec 88*

[Summary] Guatemala City, 21 Dec (ACAN - EFE)—The Guatemalan Chamber of Industries, CIG, announced a program today to prevent the abuse of drugs. The program, aimed at some 50,000 primary school pupils, is part of the police's continuing fight against drug trafficking. Program director Eduardo Godoy has reported that the project will cost more than $125,000 and will be implemented first in Guatemala City.

In connection with the Guatemalan Government's effort, it has been reported that Guatemalan security forces, in cooperation with Interpol, have confiscated $70 million worth of cocaine in the past 10 days alone.

## Honduras

### President on ICJ Ruling, Contras, U.S. Policy

*PA2312171088 Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network in Spanish 1120 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Interview with President Jose Azcona by Julio A. Valdes; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Azcona] The International Court of Justice's [ICJ] ruling did not surprise me. It did not surprise me in the least. With that ruling the ICJ declared itself competent to handle the suit filed by Nicaragua.

One must take that ruling calmly. I always thought the ICJ would issue that ruling. That ruling, however, is not the same as issuing a ruling against Honduras.

We are also prepared for and have proof of the Nicaraguan incursions into Honduran territory, including the Nicaraguan soldiers we arrested in March 1986, who were returned to the Nicaraguan Government in Tegucigalpa in the presence of several diplomats accredited to our country. We also have evidence of an EPS incursion into Honduran territory in March 1988. That incursion was confirmed by the United Nations. We have copies of the many Honduran protests to Nicaragua because of Nicaraguan attacks on the border area, border violations, and even the death of Honduran civilians. In other words, we have enough documents to file a countersuit against Nicaragua, to respond to Nicaragua's charges, and to do everything necessary to defend Honduran interests.

[Valdes] How would you describe Nicaraguan President Ortega's reaction?

[Azcona] It seems to me that he is gloating and lacks seriousness, because he is discussing things that were already judged. Perhaps he thinks that with his reaction, he is further condemning Somozism. He is trying to get Nicaraguans' support for a [words indistinct] by taking that position. It seems to me his statements are very irresponsible. [passage omitted]

(Valdes] Mr President, I would like to go back to the crisis. Are you willing to attend or to promote a Central American presidential summit after the ICJ ruling [words indistinct]?

[Azcona] As I told you, we are not happy, because we had agreed this type of thing would not happen, much less now when the contras are virtually no longer fighting in Nicaragua. The contras who retreated from Nicaragua to Honduras were almost urged on by the Sandinist government. Let us speak clearly. In Sapoa, the Sandinist government negotiated the location of the enclaves on the border with Honduras. The contras had no military assistance and were being surrounded by very powerful EPS forces, so they decided to seek refuge in Honduras.

It seems to us that the Sandinists want us to use our Armed Forces to expel the contras from Honduras, to mistreat them, and to then suffer Honduran casualties as a result of that confrontation, not only Nicaraguan casualties. We have no reason to fight the contras. No Honduran family should mourn the death of one of its members because of a fight among Nicaraguans.

[Valdes] Is the U.S. Government, which gave so much support to the contras, responsible for this ICJ ruling and the current problem?

[Azcona] President Reagan's policy was to help the contras. Almost 1 year ago, however, the U.S. Congress decided not to give any more military aid to the contras. How is it possible that at this stage Nicaragua brings an entirely political suit before the ICJ? I do not mean the ICJ's ruling is entirely political. I mean the substance of Nicaragua's suit against Honduras is entirely political. [passage omitted]

## Workers' Organizations Protest U.S. Policy

*PA2512034188 San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 22 Dec 88 p 8*

[Paid advertisement: "A Necessary Reply"]

[Text] The low intensity war the Pentagon has prescribed for our people has intensified the psychological war, which is waged through disinformation, confusion of public opinion, creation of panic, and the weakening of patriotic feeling. The objective is for our people to accept the U.S. military occupation of our country and to justify the terrorist actions against all patriots and organizations that advocate peace, human rights, and national sovereignty.

During 1988, terrorist actions reappeared with the murders of Miguel Angel Pavon and Moises Landaverde; the disappearance of Roger Gonzalez; with persecutions, attacks, torture, and abductions of popular leaders and Catholic priests and nuns.

Simultaneously, the psychological war was stepped up. It is no accident that General Gustavo Alvarez [former Honduran Armed Forces commander in chief] played a greater role on the terror scene and that the "Triple A" Death Squad, the state's repressive bodies, and the terrorists—with their peaceful facade—of the Honduran Committee for Peace and Democracy, were reactivated.

With the most clumsy cynicism, that committee has violated the human rights of the Catholic Church and the Honduran people. With its lies and Christian clothing, that committee has published many "paid ads" to ironically celebrate the anniversary of the universal Human Rights Charter and also to praise the "Triple A" Death Squad, the paramilitary groups, and the contra movement.

Let us study the arguments of that committee, which obviously cannot deceive the Honduran people:

1. They attribute the economic and social crisis to the fact that Hondurans do not want to work and to the demands presented by labor and peasant groups, which struggle for better salaries, for collective contracts, for an overall and fair agrarian reform, and for better housing, food, and health conditions.

In sum, the poor, the oppressed, the unemployed, and those displaced by the contras and the gringos are the ones responsible for the crisis.

The facts prove that those who led this country into debt and then spent the money on national security, weapons, and the construction of U.S. military bases, are the ones responsible for the crisis.

Our debt is nearly 7 billion lempiras and the lempira loses value every day. At the end of this year, the lempira has a real value of 25 cents; and while the prices of milk, eggs, corn, and beans go up rapidly, wages remain stationary.

2. The aforementioned committee also denies the existence of missing people, torture, and violations of the Constitution. That old fascist and terrorist practice corresponds to the schools of the war of Vietnam, of Augusto Pinochet, the Argentine military junta, Alvarez, and the repressive bodies, who were all trained in that practice.

Part of that old practice is to blame the murder of popular leaders on "confrontations among leftist groups." That old story was used by Negroponte in

Vietnam and Honduras, by Alvarez, and currently by the Honduran Committee for Peace and Democracy, and the state's repressive bodies.

That terrorist strategy, however, is being unmasked by various groups, as was written in the editorial of the 17 December issue of TIEMPO: "The main thing is that we are facing an escalation of the psychological war equal to the one that paved the way for the disappearances of 1983 -1985, although perhaps this time the escalation is larger and has even worse motivations."

We repeat that the turncoats surrendered national sovereignty to the U.S. Government and "the contra movement." They are responsible for the resounding failure of a capitulating foreign policy that sold our nation.

We call the terrorists of the Honduran Committee for Peace and Democracy to practice "democracy" since they preach it by publicly discussing with us the violation of our human rights and national sovereignty.
Tegucigalpa, 21 December, 1988
United Federation of Honduran Workers (FUTH)
People's Organizations Coordinating Committee (CCOP)
Francisco Morazan Patriotic Committee
Honduran Action for Peace Committee (COHAPAZ)

## Nicaragua

### Ortega on Cardinal's Call for Christmas Amnesty

*PA2312193388 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 Dec 88 p5*

[Text] President Daniel Ortega yesterday said that a basic precondition to thinking of an amnesty this Christmas is a joint action among all Nicaraguans, "including Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, to demand that the U.S. Government stop the criminal, terrorist war imposed on this nation for so many years."

Ortega was commenting on remarks by Obando y Bravo favoring an amnesty that is "as broad as possible for this Christmas."

"This is a basic precondition to thinking of an amnesty for those involved in terrorist activities and in murdering and crippling Nicaraguans as a Christmas gift from the United States. After all, the prisoners are alive, but the children who were murdered already lost their lives, and that is irreplaceable. Therefore, we must first stop the war to have the moral authority to speak of an amnesty," Ortega said after listening to a report on the National Assembly's fourth legislative period.

I hope, he warned, that just as Cardinal Obando y Bravo is concerned about the release of the criminals who have been killing the people for years, he will be concerned about the suspension of the criminal aggression promoted by the U.S. Government.

### President Ortega Signs Law on MININT Ranks

*PA2612174288 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra yesterday signed into law the bill on military ranks at the Ministry of the Interior [MININT], which establishes nine officer ranks. The law creates the rank of first commander [primer comandante]. Brigade Commanders Rene Vivas and Lenin Cerna, current MININT vice ministers, will apparently receive this rank. The rank of brigade commander, which MININT chief Commander Tomas Borge Martinez had already been granted, is also legally established. The law on military ranks, approved by the National Assembly on 15 December in its final session for this year, entitles President Ortega to grant the ranks of first commander and brigade commander. Granting the other ranks falls within the purview of MININT. However, President Ortega is entitled to grant these other ranks to officers at the service of state agencies.

### USSR Grants Credit for Purchase of Planes

*PA2412031688 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 22 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Julio Rocha, general manager of the Nicaraguan airline AERONICA, has announced in a news conference that the Soviet Government has granted AERONICA a 33-million ruble credit. According to Rocha, the airline will use the credit to acquire three airplanes in order to improve its domestic and international cargo and passenger service during 1989.

Among the planes AERONICA has acquired from the Soviet plane industry are two An-32 planes, which are similar to the Antonov An-26 used in the Sandinist Air Force. The other plane is a three-engine TU-154M, which is similar to the Western-made Boeing 727-200.

Rocha said the first two planes will arrive in Nicaragua in the first half of 1989, while the third plane will arrive in the second half of the year.

[Begin Rocha recording] About 8 days ago, we came back from the USSR. We went there to sign the contracts for the acquisition of these planes. As you know, the purchase of these planes has been discussed for some time. We had always agreed on purchasing them for some time next year, but now we can say precisely when these planes will arrive.

Let us begin by talking about the two An-32 planes. The An-32 is a modern plane in the USSR. It is similar to the Antonov-26, which is flown by the Sandinist Air Force. The An-32 is a bit bigger than the Antonov-26 and has room for 50 passengers. Two planes were purchased with a 15-million ruble credit that the Soviet Government granted to the Nicaraguan Government. The 15 million rubles were used to purchase the two planes, four spare

motors, four propellers, spare parts, and airplane inspection equipment. This amount will also cover the training of our crew and technicians in the USSR.

According to the agreement, we will begin training our mechanics and pilots in the USSR on 16 January. The training will take place in Kiev, which is one of the USSR's Ukraine republics. [as heard]

In addition to the purchase of the airplanes, a portion of the credit has been set aside for urgent orders—which are referred to as go-ahead orders in the aviation field.

We hope to receive the first An-32 in March, at a time when we feel our crew will have made the transition from the An-26 to the An-32 and will be able, with the support and advice of a group of Cuban comrades, of ferrying the planes from Kiev, USSR, to Nicaragua. We hope it will be possible for us to use this plane next April.

We hope to receive the second An-32 in late April or early May. As you can see, these planes will be new. We hope to incorporate it into our fleet by May or June. In other words, the two planes will be operating by mid-1989.

This will be an immense leap in the quality of cargo transportation for the Atlantic coast. As you know, we are currently operating U.S.-manufactured C-46 and C-47 planes, which were made over 45 years ago. We have been using this equipment because it was what we had inherited and we had no other alternatives. Now we have a chance to acquire and operate these new planes. We hope to have a plane exclusively for cargo transportation and a plane exclusively for passenger transportation. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Government is also granting the Nicaraguan Government an 18-million ruble credit to acquire a TU-154M. [passage omitted]

This will also be a new plane. The order for its manufacture was given when the contracts were signed. According to the contracts, we will receive the plane in the last 3 months of 1989. [end recording]

### Defense Ministry Reports New 'Harassment'

*PA2712040488 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2336 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] Managua, 26 Dec, (ACAN - EFE)—The Nicaraguan Defense Ministry reported today in Managua that Honduran Army troops "harassed" a Sandinist military post on the Nicaraguan border.

The short military report added that on 24 December, Honduran soldiers attacked the Sandinist Army "Murupuchi" observation post with rifle fire and 81-mm mortars. The observation post is located 4 km north of Teotecaciente, on the Nicaraguan border with Honduras.

The attack took place just 6 days prior to the end of the unilateral truce declared by the Nicaraguan Government to the "Nicaraguan Resistance."

According to military sources, the "Marupuchi" Sandinist observation post is the nearest post to the Honduran border and throughout the year has been the one that Honduran troops have "harassed" the most.

## Panama

### Dignity Battalions Picket U.S. Embassy

*PA2412213088 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2005 GMT 24 Dec 88*

["Today's Event" segment]

[Text] [Crowd shouts indistinct slogans] [Crowd shouts: "Arthur Davis to the firing squad."]

Members of the Panamanian Dignity Battalions picketed the U.S. Embassy in Panama City at 1200 today to protest the aggression against our country.

Architect Enrique Thompson, member of the Dignity Battalion commando explained their presence across from the U.S. Embassy building:

[Begin Thompson recording] This morning the Dignity Battalions of Panama and some of the Colon provinces met here to tell the U.S. imperialists that the Dignity Battalions are on alert and are not willing to budge one step. In addition, we want to tell Maisto [U.S. deputy chief of mission], Arthur Davis [U.S. Ambassador to Panama], and his daughter, that they are personae non gratae and that they are to leave. Today we are reasserting our sovereignty, dignity, and patriotism. We will not budge one step. We are on alert and ready to defend ourselves against them and bad Panamanians. [end recording]

Carrying posters and shouting slogans, the Dignity Battalion members, including Democratic Revolutionary Party politicians, Dignity Battalions Commander Benjamin Colamarco, and representatives of all Panamanian social classes, repudiated the U.S. Government's economic aggression against Panama, which has prevented Panama from celebrating Christmas in its usual way. Panama Defense Forces' [FDP] Arturo Marquinez also spoke to the thousands of Panamanians who joined the demonstration.

[Begin Marquinez recording] We will hold demonstrations like this in all provinces and all the FDP reservists are ready and alert to fulfill the mission the homeland assigns us. [end recording]

The demonstrators said today [Christmas Eve] is a fitting day to reassert the nationalism of all Panamanians, who are going through the current situation with dignity despite the aggression.

We must point out that today's demonstration was conducted in an orderly manner and without affecting traffic on Balboa Avenue. The members of the Dignity Battalion did not approach the U.S. Embassy premises.

An enormous sign with caricatures of U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis, his daughter Susan Davis, and John Maisto—who have been declared personae non gratae by the Panamanian people—was positioned in the Anayansi Park across from the U.S. Embassy so passersby are reminded of our rejection of those ill-fated figures of Reagan's imperialism in Panama.

[Crowd chants: "Those who do not resist are running away, and the gringos will gobble them up."]

## Noriega Views Costa Rican Border Situation

*PA2412131288 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 2205 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Speech by General Manuel Antonio Noriega, Defense Forces commander, at the Peace Battalion change of command ceremony in Rio Sereno, Chiriqui Province, on 23 December—recorded]

[Text] Costa Rican friends who are present here, civilian and military officials, civilian friends, Rio Sereno and Renacimiento officials, students, Honorable Legislator Camilo Gozaine, officials in general, and the Peace Battalion contingent:

The goal that moved us to form a military force in this area was to develop the border area in a joint manner. Security cannot be implemented only by one side of the border; security is the sum of two halves. This is the experience I have gained in my 20 years as a soldier who has walked this border area. I always dreamed that Panamanian soldiers and Costa Rican security forces would join in this border area to work out a plan that would bring welfare to residents on both sides of the border.

Therefore, I am going to divide my speech today into two parts. The first part of my speech will be on military aspects. It is addressed to the soldiers and to their new commander, Captain [Jose Antonio] Gomez, who was born in Gualaca, Chiriqui, and thus has the spirit and knowledge of this region and is committed to it. The same can be said of the person he is replacing today, [Captain German] Gonzalez Pitti, who is a great troop commander, a great soldier, and a man who carried out his mission. The goal of his mission was to set up this battalion. It must be a great satisfaction for Gonzalez Pitti today, when he hands over his command, to know that his work is not just a step in his military career but can be seen in the citrus trees that have been planted, in the pond made for fisheries, in the animal husbandry projects, and in the crops that have been planted. This is the best reward and prize he will have obtained in fulfilling his mission.

I want to tell the soldiers and Capt Gomez, I want to repeat to them, that we have a defensive strategy of security. Panama is not an offensive country. Costa Rica is not an offensive country. Therefore, our borders with Costa Rica and Colombia are defensive ones. They are not offensive. I want to tell you that the spirit of each soldier here in the border must be one of friendship. It must be a friendship that binds us as brothers but does not jeopardize security and actions against criminals and persons who want to harm our good relations. This is the military spirit that must be maintained while you are fulfilling your duties.

I also want to congratulate you for your professionalism and modernization. We all saw the trophies the Peace Battalion received during the award ceremony yesterday. This shows that, despite being far away, your military spirit for self-improvement and a good physical condition has been maintained and is equal to that of any combat company located nearer the city.

We formed this contingent with the men who live nearest this place because we understand the problems related to distance and family relationships. This is why we wanted these men to be natives of this area. These troops should not lack anything necessary for their well-being. This is the commander's responsibility. He must watch over his men, eat with them, sleep with them, play with them, laugh with them, and cry with them if necessary. This is the mission I am entrusting to you, Captain Gomez, so these men can understand who are their friends and who are their enemies.

These men should be able to enjoy recreation and relaxation, not violence. There should be no confusion about their role. You should reinforce your leadership skills with the knowledge that these troops are different. These Panamanian men, who have not been trained by foreign advisers, are different. They were formed with our own clay and mud and in our own image and likeness. These men are the most alert in the world. This is why neither the recruits nor the seasoned soldiers can be confused. As proof of this, we can say that treason, doubt, and confusion have been absent in our troops in 1968, 1969, 1970, 1980, 1987, and 1988. These characteristics will also be nonexistent in these men in the year 2,000.

I will share my own experience. I learned from experienced soldiers, from Serracin [not further identified], who is sitting here. I learned from the experienced men who taught men how to behave, be serious, get along with others, and be courageous. Above all else, they taught me how to be brave. This border is a school for learning bravery. This school was attended by the men who refused to flee but elected to stay. I mention Serracin as a single example, because there are many. So you should learn from these troops, from these men who live here for peace, not for war.

I want to respectfully devote the second part of my speech to the Costa Rican people and military officials who live at the border and are familiar with it. I sent a letter to Costa Rican President Oscar Arias telling him we want Costa Rican officials to come to the border and become acquainted with reality. I told him we will not start a war over a drunken brawl. This border does not require a demarcation line, checkposts, or firearms, either Costa Rican or Panamanian. This border exists because of the goodwill of those who live on both sides. A Panamanian who crosses the border, has a drink, and even gets drunk there is a man enjoying a normal life, not a guerrilla. And the Costa Rican who comes to this side and does likewise is a man of whom we should be considerate, because this border did not exist in the not-too-distant past. This border is an imaginary line drawn in 1940 by Arnulfo Arias, who was then Panamanian president, and Calderon Arias, who was Costa Rican president at the time.

Neither of our two peoples were consulted on the agreements these two men reached to draw the border. Let us have a look at this. I would like to know, very respectfully, how many Costa Rican and even Panamanian officials and deputies have visited this border. How many of them have walked it? How many are familiar with the plight of those who grow coffee both in Costa Rica and Panama?

Drunkenness, which occurs in every country of the world, cannot be resolved by malicious, conflictive, international press reports. The [recent border] incident is being presented as aggression. I criticize this situation today. It is a situation being created by men who do not know the actual situation and who have a political purpose. They want to divide us; they want to divide Costa Ricans and Panamanians. These men want and accept orders from the United States. We here in Panama do not accept orders from the United States. However, confusion has been created to have an excuse for the United States to cross your border, because they will not cross ours. [applause] Let us not fall into that trap. We are here now and we apologize—this commander apologizes—to Costa Ricans, to Costa Rican officials, if we made any mistakes. We, however, say it was human error.

Representing the Panama Defense Forces, I apologize for anything that may have happened. To err is human. At this time, I also ask that we better understand each other. How many times and for how many months have we been asking officials to come here and talk to each other? They would at least get to know their countries and the border area. They have not come here. The only ones who come here are the ones who live here, the ones who endure problems here.

There are other types of problems here. We need to face those problems; we need to solve them. The problems are ones that relate to the real lives of people, farmers, and men who have to see each other every day. The person who is not aware of these realities makes mistakes; he is a useful idiot. How is it possible that an incident caused by drunkenness is given 15 minutes on Univision, an international television system? Who paid for this? Fifteen minutes were devoted to the incident of a man who got drunk and did certain things. Fifteen minutes. Let us have common sense. Let us not fall into such traps. I respectfully recommend, as we have done in the past when we have had problems... [changes thought] I recall that when General Torrijos was alive, we had a problem with Major Arias [not further identified]. Actually, I believe it was Colonel Arias; they called him barrel chest. He had a problem in the border, a public relations problem. It was not the kind of problem that would make Costa Rica and Panama break their relations. As we see it, problems are common in this area because there are no definite border lines here. Evidence of this is that the maps say: Roads define the border. What does roads define the border mean? It means that you can go to one side or to the other, but there is no exact line that cannot be crossed. The charts say roads define the border. This was established by those who agreed on the present border.

Let us continue to be brothers. Let us not allow others to confuse us. Let us avoid provocations. Let us develop the area. The health clinic we built was not for the sole use of Panamanians; it was for the use of whoever needed it. These are actions that unite the border area. There have been projects where we have offered the use of our trucks and Costa Rica provided the materials. Those who want to divide us do not know of these development projects. These projects were carried out without demagogy; they were carried out because they promoted integration. Countries integrate in accordance to their needs. Gentlemen, you must wish you could have the same type of border with Nicaragua. I wish you did.

I want the Costa Rican brothers who are present to be witnesses of my honest, respectful words. I am totally respectful and have the positive intention of promoting development and friendship. That is why this battalion was named the Peace Battalion. This is not a border at war. This border has to be maintained as it is, a peaceful one. You are a peaceful country. You do not have an army; you are a peace-loving country. We respect that peace. We wish the border we have with the gringos were one of peace.

In ending this simple change of command ceremony, I want to summarize by saying that you have been commanded by a great soldier. He fulfilled the mission of creating this base. Now, Capt Gomez must further develop this installation. He must do so with the awareness that you cannot have security if you do not have good relations with the people who live in this region or if you are not a friend of your neighbors.

This is like a neighborhood problem. You cannot exist by yourself without speaking to your neighbor. You cannot exist by yourself. When you leave your house, you say good morning to the man who lives next door. This is the idea: integration with the people who live

near you. They are your friends and brothers, those who live in Rio Sereno and Renacimiento, those who grow coffee, all of the men who live here.

Those who live across from you on the other side of the border, the Costa Rican people, are also your brothers, because nobody ever had a choice of where to be born. So there are as many Panamanians in Costa Rica as there are Costa Ricans in Panama. All of them deserve respect; all of them must be integrated for better development.

Soldiers should keep the same spirit, development, and ability I saw yesterday when they won prizes. They should remain integrated and support Capt Gomez they same way they backed Capt Gonzalez Pitti. Have a good day. [applause]

## Noriega Decorates Military Attaches

*PA2612000788 Panama City Television Service in Spanish 1530 GMT 25 Dec 88*

[Speech by General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander of the Defense Forces, FDP, after decorating military attaches of the Argentine, Colombian, Peruvian, and Chilean Armed Forces upon completing their tour in Panama on 20 December at the FDP General Headquarters; from the weekly FDP program "Everything for the Fatherland"—recorded]

[Text]This simple ceremony, in the military tradition, has special significance for Panamanians and for you our military colleagues. As we greet you and shake your hands, we want this farewell ceremony to be more than a goodbye; we want it to be a ceremony of thanks, because we are a thankful country.

We are a country that [changes thought] Peru's naval Captain Davila has made a great historical overview and that is exactly what we are. We, as a country, together with the people being decorated here, are experiencing the history of fighting men such as O'Higgins, San Martin, Bolivar, and Sucre. Panamanians [word indistinct] on the Battle of Ayacucho, which marked another anniversary of its historical [word indistinct] on 9 December.

Panamanians [words indistinct] with Bolivar; we were in [name indistinct] and Boyoca. These historical reincarnations of men-in-arms salute these men-in-arms. We are Panama and as Panamanians, we are Latin Americans. And part of our historical tradition is respect for national borders and the soldiers of other countries. We maintain this position with Chile. We respect what it thinks, does, and has done.

Furthermore, we protect and are very careful with our Colombian border because we respect our brothers there. We are thankful to Peru for its technical cooperation and traditional assistance that reinforce the ties of men who [word indistinct] this land. Today, I have a special word for a man whom I am decorating, namely Colonel Arbulo, who helped train me when I was a cadet at the military school in Peru.

I also have a special word for Argentina. As commander, as a soldier, as a man of my word, and as a Panamanian, I reaffirm that we would never endanger or tarnish our relations with Argentina, because that country has problems of its own; it has its own men with problems, it has its destiny, Armed Forces, and people [word indistinct] Panama also expressed active solidarity [word indistinct] when it compared an Argentine geopolitical problem with a Panamanian geopolitical problem.

Colonel Bianchi, [word indistinct] today General Bianchi, is a witness to the Panamanian word and when Panamanians give their word, they do not go back on it.

Thanks to you [words indistinct]. Every time we say goodbye [words indistinct] military attaches we tell them they need neither visas nor passports to come to Panama, because they leave friends, disciples, brothers, and relatives here. Thank you very much. [applause]

## Archbishop Denies Solis Seeks Church Mediation

*PA2312212888 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 22 Dec 88*

[Text] Manuel Solis Palma, minister in charge of the Presidency, has asked the Catholic Church to mediate with dissident groups so the latter will refrain from any activity disturbing public order during the Christmas and New Year holidays. He promised to study the possibility of releasing political prisoners.

A communique issued today by the Presidency's Press Secretariat points out that Solis Palma made this request during a meeting with Episcopal Conference members, who asked him to intercede for the release of political prisoners.

The ACAN-EFE news agency this afternoon reported that Archbishop Marcos Gregorio McGrath has denied the report issued by the Presidency's Press Secretariat about a meeting held yesterday with President Manuel Solis Palma.

According to ACAN-EFE, McGrath said that at no time did President Solis Palma ask him to mediate with dissident groups so the latter will refrain from any activity disturbing public order during the Christmas and New Year holidays. Instead, Solis Palma suggested the possibility of the Catholic Church promoting an understanding that would lead to a solution to the country's crisis, McGrath added, according to ACAN-EFE.

### Government Deports Opposition Leader Alberto Conte

*PA2412183688 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1754 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Panama City, 24 Dec, (ACAN - EFE)—Lawyer Rogelio Cruz has reported that Alberto Conte, president of the Panamanian National Journalists' Association and a businessman involved with the opposition Civic Crusade, was deported to Miami today. Conte was arrested on 22 September and accused of conspiring against the state's security.

In statements to a local radio station, Cruz said Conte was released today and sent to Miami, from where Conte called to say he was "safe and sound."

In addition, the Panamanian Government today pardoned 14 political prisoners who are members of the opposition Authentic Panamenist Party (PPA). They too were accused of "plotting against the state's security."

PPA lawyer Hernan Garcia told a local radio station that 14 PPA members who were being held as political prisoners were released today. He did not give any information on the total number of political prisoners still held in Panamanian jails. Garcia also did not say whether other prisoners who were accused of conspiring against the state's security will be released. [passage omitted]

### 26 Opposition Leaders Freed

*PA25121643 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 25 Dec 88 p 1*

[Text] Panama City, 24 Dec (AFP)—The Panamanian Government freed 26 opposition members today—including Alberto Conte, president of the National Journalists' Association—who had been arrested for activities against the state's internal security.

The pardon was granted by President Manuel Solis Palma at the request of the Catholic Episcopal Conference but excludes 17 opposition prisoners, according to the Panamanian Human Rights Committee (CPDH). The CPDH contends that 43 people were arrested between 16 March and 22 September, including military men involved in a coup attempt and alleged conspirators.

According to the government, only 28 people were jailed during September.

The CPDH said Saturday that those still being held are Juan Mojica, Jose Serracin, six opponents arrested in August for allegedly organizing terrorist plans, and 9 military men who were arrested after a coup attempt failed on 16 March. The latter includes former police chief Colonel Leonidas Macias.

According to a communique released by the Panama Defense Forces today, Alberto Conte, who is a leader of the Civic Crusade, left voluntarily for Miami, United States, after his release.

However, Rogelio Cruz, Conte's lawyer, denied the assertion and told AFP that Conte "was forced to sign" a document asking to leave the country and was later "placed hooded aboard the plane."

Those pardoned are Federico Boyd, Julio Chen Marquez, Manuel Ulloa, Luis Hurtado, Giovanni Carlucci Paredes, Carlos Reynolds, Dwight Brainer Prado, Carlos Paris, Jose Acosta, Florentino Alvarado Marciaga, Doris Villareal, Gustavo Gomez Munoz, Mario Tunon, Leonor Murillo, Mercedes Cruz Apodac, Aracelys Morales, Ausberto Watts, Jose Riquelme, Anel Rodriguez, Orlando Villarreal. Betzaida de Sauri, Carlos Smith, Jose Echevers, Raymar Clemen Galvaz, and Dilsa Espino de Reynolds

They were arrested on 22 September and charged with belonging to cells of the National Conciliation Movement and 16 March Active Movement guerrilla groups financed by the United States and directed by former Panamanian military men.

Roberto Brenes, an opposition figure who is president of the Panamanian Association of Business Executives, was deported Wednesday, 3 days after the clandestine station La Voz de la Libertad began antigovernment broadcasts.

The CPDH said today also that 900 opponents of the government were arrested in 1988 for participating in protest demonstrations and belonging to antigovernment groups.

The Panamanian authorities also announced today that they had pardoned 200 common prisoners for good behavior but that prisoners charged with drug trafficking were excluded.

### Conde Replies to FDP Communique

*PA2312215588 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 23 Dec 88 pp 1, C-10*

["Public clarification" by Roberto Brenes, president of the Panamanian Association of Business Executives, issued in Miami on 22 December]

[Text] Mr Tomas Gabriel Altamirano Duque, director of LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA.

Mr Director:

Exercising my legal right to reply, I request that you publish the attached public clarification in relation to a communique issued by the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] regarding my departure from Panama. The communique appeared on the front page of today's [22 December] edition of LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA.

I would appreciate it if you give this clarification the same importance and attention given to the military communique.

Sincerely,

Roberto Brenes P., i.d. No 4-82-101

Out of respect for public opinion, I hereby deny the contents of the communique issued by the Panama Defense Forces Information and Public Relations Directorate concerning my departure from the country.

First: My departure from the country was not based on "my own decision." I was deported by G-2 agents commanded by Major Felipe Camargo. The deportation followed my illegal arrest—without an arrest warrant—at my residence on Tuesday, 20 December, at approximately 2000.

Throughout the night and until approximately 0500, I was subject to intensive interrogation by two interrogators: the already famous "Pitufo," [Smurf cartoon character] and another called "Monk." During the interrogation there were attempts to link me with subversive activities allegedly carried out from the United States and Costa Rica. I was also accused of participating in plots "planned abroad." Although I was treated courteously throughout the interrogation, my interrogators were very emphatic regarding my deportation and wanted me to be an "FDP messenger to the Miami traitors."

It is important to mention that during the illegal raid of my residence, carried out at the same time as my detention, the agents seized a cartoon of a crusader pointing at General Noriega with a sword. The drawing had a caption that read: "This country is too small for both of us." Maj Camargo presented me with the drawing at the G-2 office and told me that if the country is too small for the two of us, "the commander will stay and you will go, and this picture will be your suitcase."

At 0500, hooded and handcuffed, I was taken to the Panamanian Air Force terminal at the old Tocumen Airport, from where I was directly taken to a Pan Am plane where the hood and cuffs were taken off. After that, I was escorted to my seat. This can hardly be described as "my own decision."

Second: Regarding my alleged participation in subversive activities "aimed at disrupting institutional order," I challenge the FDP to publish any proof or evidence against me. I challenge the FDP to proceed with all the force of the law against me through legal procedures.

I am willing to return to Panama immediately to face those charges. I will prove, without any problem, that the charges are mere falsehoods and lies.

My actions as a civic crusader have always been carried out in the open. My efforts and actions have always been in support of achieving democracy in Panama through peaceful means. I have always acted within the framework of well-known organizations such as civic groups, business organizations, and political parties. I hereby reiterate my steadfast determination to continue the struggle.

Third: There is an old saying "whomever has no debts has no fear." I have no trial or charges pending against me in Panama. On the contrary, I benefitted from an amnesty proclaimed in January 1988.

This shows that I am a free man who does not need deals with anyone in order to enter my country. It is painful that at this stage, the FDP should try to link third persons to this falsehood, which has no vestige of the truth and shows no respect for the dignity of other people.

Roberto Brenes, i.d. no. 4-82-101

Miami, 22 December 1988

## CONEP Communique Protests Leader's Arrest, Exile

*PA2412003288 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 22 Dec 88 p 10-A*

[Communique issued by National Council of Private Enterprise, CONEP, in Panama City on 21 December]

[Text] In view of the illegal and arbitrary arrest of Roberto Brenes, president of the Panamanian Association of Business Executives (APEDE) and member of CONEP's board of directors, last night, 20 December, and his banishment this morning, we inform citizens that we strongly condemn these actions and the raiding of his residence.

We also state that these actions represent a continuation of the subjugation to which private business, and particularly its leaders, are being subjected.

Far from stopping the country's continuing social and economic deterioration, these actions make the alleged intention of beginning a process toward national understanding more unattainable.

Notwithstanding the fact that this is the Christmas season—which symbolizes unity, peace, and brotherhood in the world—fear, abuse, and persecution unfortunately continue to prevail in our country.

We condemn the fact that Roberto Brenes has been forcefully exiled in violation of the right of every Panamanian to freely remain in, enter, or leave his country as often as he wishes.

We express our solidarity with APEDE and at the same time urge it to continue struggling, with equal strength and determination, for the principles of free enterprise and for a democratic, just, and free Panama.

Panama City, 21 December 1988

National Council of Private Enterprise

## Chamber of Commerce Protest

*PA2312234288 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 22 Dec 88 pp A-1, A-10*

[Resolution issued by the Chamber of Commerce, Industries, and Agriculture in Panama City on 21 December]

[Text] The Panamanian Chamber of Commerce, Industries, and Agriculture resolves:

1. To denounce, once again, the actions in violation of human rights and constitutional guarantees that the regime has committed against Roberto Brenes Perez.

2. To demand the establishment of a climate of freedom and justice so we Panamanians may live under a genuinely democratic rule of law.

3. To demand, in addition, the release of all political prisoners, who have already been illegally held in jail for over 90 days.

Issued in Panama City on 21 December 1988

Juan Jose Vallarino, secretary

## Civic Crusade Leaders on 'Persecution,Torture'

*PA2512224888 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2012 GMT 25 Dec 88*

[Text] Guatemala City, 25 Dec (ACAN - EFE)—Panamanian political leaders have reported in Guatemala City that the Panamanian Government uses "persecution and torture" against those demanding democratization and an end to the crisis.

In a lengthy report, Guatemalan television's Canal 3 today broadcast the testimonies of several opposition Civic Crusade leaders and persons who were "detained and tortured" by Panama Defense Forces [FDP] members.

Alberto Conte, a prominent Civic Crusade leader, and who is now exiled in Miami, said the current situation in Panama "is truly chaotic, the economy is steadily deteriorating, and hunger and misery prevail throughout the country."

Referring to the restrictions on the unions' activities, Aurelio Barria, president of the Panamanian Chamber of Commerce, said "the right of association is being attacked through a decree enacted last year with the sole purpose of curtailing the unions' activities."

Cecilia Alegre, of the Panamanian Human Rights Committee, said Manuel Solis Palma's government has forbidden public criticisms of "fund mismanagement" and hospital administration.

Pierre Leignadier, another prominent Civic Crusade leader, also said that in Panama "people are terribly afraid of the military's repression of those who want to express their dissatisfaction."

Reporter Homero Londono said: Major Felipe Camargo, "trained in several Communist countries, and other military men shoved me naked under a shower, put me against a wall under an air conditioner outlet, blindfolded me, and rang a bell near my ears."

Retired Lieutenant Carlos Rodolfo Worrel, who served in the FDP for 25 years, said he was detained at his home on 13 August 1987 and taken to police headquarters to be questioned by Lieutenant Colonel Nivaldo Madrinan.

Worrel reported: "Upon arriving at the police headquarters, three men began hitting me with rifle butts. Maj Camargo hit me in the head with a pistol. Six policemen beat me with hoses and kicked me while I was on the floor. Finally, I was taken to a cellar."

Solis Palma, also interviewed during the broadcast, said the actions of some FDP members should not be regarded as representing FDP policy.

In addition, Panama Archbishop Msgr Marcos Gregorio McGrath said that the crisis, which was thought to last a relatively short time, has left thousands of Panamanians in dire poverty.

According to figures given by the Civic Crusade leaders during the interview, in Panama there are 200,000 jobless, 70 percent of the corporations are bankrupt, and Panama's foreign debt has reached $4.5 billion. This means that every Panamanian citizen owes $2,000 to international banks.

The foreign debt of Panama, with a population of 2 million, is Latin America's largest.

## Argentina

### Official on Thatcher Message to Falklands

*PY2412134688 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 1210 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Dec (DYN)—Raul Alconada Sempe, Foreign Ministry secretary for special affairs, has said that the statement by Margaret Thatcher on the Argentine-British conflict over the Malvinas Islands reflects "an attempt to reduce the political cost, both at a domestic and at an international level, of the consideration of the issue by the United Nations."

Alconada Sempe was asked about a Christmas message that the British prime minister gave over the BBC to the inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands in which she said, among other things, that international "support" for the Argentine position at the United Nations "has dropped."

Alconada Sempe said that Foreign Minister Dante Caputo has already reported on "the pressure" that Great Britain has exerted on Latin American countries to make them withdraw their support for the Argentine demand for sovereignty over the islands.

He said that the issue "remains high" on the UN agenda, as shown by the "more than two-thirds vote in favor" of Argentina, adding that the statement by Thatcher reflects "a political move" that seeks to reduce "the cost, both at a domestic and at an international level, of the consideration of the issue" at that forum, whose general assembly is presided over by Dante Caputo.

### Alfonsin Expresses Sympathy to Reagan, Thatcher

*PY2412155388 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Text] President Raul Alfonsin has expressed his condolences to the chiefs of state of Great Britain and the United States, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, for the airplane catastrophe in Scotland where 280 people died.

In his message to the British prime minister, Alfonsin expressed his most sincere condolences and said his solidarity represents a frank and firm rejection of terrorist action, in case such action is confirmed. He said that this harms the feelings of all of us who reject every kind of violence and who believe that dialogue, coexistence, and peace are possible.

In a communique released by the press office of the Presidency, President Alfonsin also expressed his condolences to President Reagan for the air tragedy in Lockerbie, where U.S. citizens also died.

In the name of the Argentine Government and people, as well as himself, Alfonsin lamented the tragic deaths, which moved the whole international community.

### Caridi Calls for Reconciliation of All Argentines

*PY2412022688 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1615 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 23 Dec (NA)—Army Chief of Staff General Jose Dante Caridi today called for a "sincere and frank reconciliation among all Argentines, moved by a spirit of greatness," because "the war against subversion has marked us with deep scars, which we must efface once and for all."

These remarks by Caridi, who has already submitted his request for retirement, were extended by Lieutenant Colonel Rodolfo Cabrera on behalf of the outgoing chief of staff during a ceremony marking the 13th anniversary of the attempt to take over the "Colonel Domingo Viejobueno" 601st Arsenal Battalion, located in the Buenos Aires District of Monte Chingolo.

In one part of the message broadcast to all Army units and commands, Caridi reports that in that garrison "we used arms—legally, and on orders of the constitutional power—to confront a subversive and insidious enemy, whose clear objectives were to usurp power and to change our life and the established institutional order."

The message adds that "Christmas Eve was despicably disturbed by the antipatriotic subversion. When most people [words indistinct] were renewing their hope and Christian faith, the guerrillas shocked them with their action, inflicting pain and death."

It adds that "the glory of the just and our admiration represent a gift of recognition to those officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers who bravely and courageously fulfilled their duties in the Argentine Armed Forces."

The message adds that "today military doctrine is in line with the principles and objectives that have been established so that all Argentines may be able to confront the challenge of the future."

It adds that "in order to achieve this, we will continue giving testimony and consolidating our often-proven support to the country's institutional order with the same desire and conviction with which we confronted that occupation attempt.

The message goes on to say that, "God willing, this anniversary, which impels us to praise the spirit of those who died in combat will serve to encourage the unity and the reconciliation we all hope for."

It recalls that "on 23 December 1975 a subversive criminal attack was hatching which was ready to begin a wave of terror and bloodshed. This cowardly attack was planned with the hope of surprising guards who might not be alert because of the coming Christmas holidays and the year-end leave."

At that moment, "heavily armed elements of the self-styled People's Revolutionary Army, reinforced by combatants of the Montoneros Organization, carried out a thorough and well-prepared plan to seize by assault the 601st Arsenal Battalion."

The message concludes by saying that "the Monte Chingolo battle is included in the long and painful chronology of a war that we who wear the military uniform of the fatherland had to accept and win in order to guarantee the integrity of our society and restore peace to the threatened Republic."

### Gen Gassino Installed as Army Chief of Staff

*PY2712021688 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2300 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Dec (NA)—General Francisco Gassino was formally installed as Army chief of staff at 1935 tonight. The ceremony was held at the Patricios Regiment parade ground.

In the presence of Defense Minister Horacio Jaunarena, Gen Gassino swore to comply with his new duties "in the name of God and of the fatherland."

### List of New Army Leadership Released

*PY2612175488 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1459 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Dec (TELAM)—It has been learned that newly-designated Army Chief of General Staff General Francisco Gassino has drafted a list of the new Army leadership. The designations have been approved by the executive branch.

Gassino will take over at 1930 today. His deputy chief of staff will be General Valentino Osvaldo Venier and his inspector general, General Manuel Alfredo Arrillaga.

General Martin Felix Bonet was named commander of the III Army Corps; General Jorge O'Higgins, commander of the IV Army Corps; and General Osvaldo Cordoba, commander of the V Army Corps. General Isidro Bonifacio Caceres was confirmed as commander of the II Army Corps.

General Eugenio Alfredo Dalton was designated to serve on the Armed Forces General Staff.

General Jose Luis Cayetano Torres was appointed deputy chief of the Military Manufacturing Department; General Horacio Guillermo Canestro, programs director; General Martin Antonio Balza, Military Institutes director; General Oscar Osvaldo Salomon, Army High Studies Institute director; and General Miguel Angelo Du Cio, finance director.

Gen Venier will become deputy chief of the general staff during a ceremony at the main square of Army headquarters at the Libertador Building tomorrow. Gen Gassino will also swear in Gen Arrillaga tomorrow.

In the morning on 28 December, Gassino will swear in Gen O'Higgins as commander of the IV Corps and during the afternoon Gen Cordoba as commander of the V Corps.

## Brazil

### Angolan Ambassador Comments on Cuban Withdrawal

*PY2312125588 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] The treaty for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola has been signed in the United Nations in New York. Angolan Ambassador to Brasilia Francisco Romao de Oliveira e Silva said that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will end with the Angolan people's suffering once South Africa complies with the commitments it assumed today in the United Nations.

[Begin Oliveira e Silva recording] The presence of Cuban troops is entirely due to the permanent and constant aggression of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. Once the aggression ends, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is not justified. [end recording]

Ambassador de Oliveira e Silva said that the withdrawal process of Cuban troops from Angola is irreversible. He did not wish to point out any country as having had a more active role in reaching the agreement.

Regarding relations with the United States, Ambassador de Oliveira e Silva expressed optimism and said that he believes that once the Cuban troops leave Angolan territory, the United States will resume relations with Angola.

### General Appointed UN Peacekeeping Force Chief

*PY2512211488 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 24 Dec 88 p 1*

[Text] Yesterday, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar appointed Brazilian Brigade General Pericles Ferreira Gomes as chief of the peacekeeping force that will oversee the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The 57- year-old Brazilian general will command Argentine, Algerian, Congolese, Czechoslovak, Indian, Jordanian, Norwegian, Spanish, and Yugoslav officers. Ferreira Gomes will temporarily leave his post in the artillery force. From April 1989 until July 1991, Ferreira Gomes will oversee the withdrawal of Cuban troops, one of the terms of the agreement for the independence of Namibia. In 1967 Ferreira Gomes served with the UN forces in the Sinai.

## Sarney Creates New 'Export Promotion Zones'

*PY2312135388 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] President Sarney has signed a decree creating export promotion zones [zonas de procesamento de exportacao] in the states of Paraiba and Piaui, and in the port of (Soares) in Pernambuco. The president said that these new zones will give the northeastern region a new industrial outlook.

[Begin Sarney recording, in progress] ... extremely dynamic, and which will transform the outlook of the region. In addition to being export oriented, these zones will also promote development through the processing of raw material, the creation of jobs, and the development of technology. In all, these zones will bring a new vitality to these states.

We are thus opening new frontiers for a new industrial era in the northeast. [end recording] [passage omitted]

## President Sets Minimum Salary for January

*PY2312015588 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 22 Dec 88*

[Text] President Jose Sarney has set the minimum salary for January at 54,374 cruzados, 34.5 percent higher than for December. The basic reference salary was increased from 25,195 cruzados to 31,896 cruzados.

This information has just been provided by Civilian Cabinet Chief Ronaldo Costa Couto at the Brasilia Air Base, soon after President Sarney embarked for Sao Luiz, Maranhao State, where he will spend the year-end holidays. With this measure, the president vetoed the law passed by Congress that proposed a minimum salary of 64,000 cruzados for January, plus a 5-percent real increase per month.

[Begin Costa Couto recording] President Sarney decided to veto the law passed by Congress setting the minimum salary for January at 64,000 cruzados, with a 5-percent real increase per month. The president took into account constitutional provisions as well as possible financial and employment repercussions. [end recording]

Civilian Cabinet Chief Costa Couto did not say what the real increase in the minimum salary is for January, but only that he believes that the real increase is between 7 and 7.5 percent. He added that the president considered matters of public interest, such as social security expenditures and the risk of financially strangling small enterprises which could generate unemployment, when he made the decision.

## Debt Auctions Reduce Debt by $6.13 Billion

*PY2212030888 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 16 Dec 88 p 26*

[Excerpt] Arnin Lore, director of the Central Bank Foreign Debt Department, at the end of the 10th debt conversion auction held at the Sao Paulo Stock Exchange (Bovespa), said that this year Brazil has managed to reduce its debt to creditor banks by $6.13 billion by converting the debt into risk capital. During the last debt conversion auction of the year, the discount for areas without fiscal or government incentives amounted to 49 percent, while the discount for areas where investments benefits from fiscal incentives amounted to 18 percent. The total sum of $150 million offered at the auction was taken by the investors, thus allowing a reduction of the Brazilian foreign debt by more than $238.5 million.

Arnin Lore explained that the $6.13 billion represents 10 percent of the total debt with creditors subject to conversion, estimated at $61 billion. The $6.13 billion represents the total formal and informal debt conversion operations. According to Lore, the formal debt conversion for the month of December amounts to $3.59 billion, while informal debt conversion duly registered by the Central Bank amounts to $2.53 billion.

The face value of the debt amount offered during the 10 auction sessions held during 1988 has allowed Brazil to reduce its foreign debt by $1.95 billion. Operations authorized through Resolution 1303 (matured debts deposited in the Central Bank and not put up for auction) have already amounted to over $650.8 million while those carried out in compliance with Resolution 1125 (based on their face value) amounted to $845.01 million.

Central Bank President Elmo Camoes said that the discount obtained during yesterday's auction was a "real Christmas present," although it did not surpass the record discount of 50 percent in the investment areas that do not benefit from fiscal or government incentives reached in November during the auction at the Rio de Janeiro Stock Exchange. [passage omitted]

## Car Carrying Cocaine Seized in Sao Paulo

*PY2312020888 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2155 GMT 22 Dec 88*

[Text] Sao Paulo Federal Police have seized two drug traffickers carrying 160 kilograms of cocaine. This is the largest drug seizure this year in Sao Paulo.

At 2130 in the local neighborhood of (Platinedi), a car passing 2 blocks from the Public Security Secretary of the State was surrounded by a group of federal policemen armed with pistols and machineguns. In a quick operation, a man and a woman were arrested and the car was taken to the district police office. Only today were the contents of the car exhibited: seven suitcases with 51 plastic bags containing a total of 160 kilograms of cocaine. This

amount of cocaine is worth nearly $2 million. To disguise the odor of the drug the drug traffickers packed some pineapples among the plastic bags.

The Federal Police did not reveal the details of the operation, nor did they identify the drug traffickers. It was learned that they are Leopoldo Gomes Portao and Genilde Fernandes Morais, who live in Corumba, Mato Grosso do Sul. They picked up the cocaine in Bolivia, and they were going to distribute it in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

The Federal Police revealed that Leopoldo Gomes Portao had already served prison time twice for drug trafficking, and that the car he was driving had been stolen in Rio de Janeiro.

## Chile

### Foreign Minister on Change in U.S. Relations

*PY2412014888 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] Foreign Minister Hernan Felipe Errazuriz has said that there is now a real opportunity to maintain a more constructive relationship with the United States. The two countries share many values and interests, and I believe that a climate now exists where at some time in the future something positive can happen, the Foreign Minister noted.

The Chilean foreign minister was interviewed in a special program on Television Channel 11, where he pointed out that relations with the United States are quite varied and, therefore, cannot simply be termed good or bad. He pointed out that the United States is now changing administrations and that there is a new U.S. ambassador in Chile. At the same time, he said, there is a new political situation in Chile, a situation that is also temporary.

Asked if the election of George Bush as President of the United States can bring a change or an improvement in that country's relations with Chile and Latin America, Minister Errazuriz replied that, in his view, Bush will demonstrate more interest in Latin America than did his predecessor. He stressed that our relations with the United States have permanent elements that will be maintained regardless of who holds the U.S. Presidency.

I believe, Errazuriz added, that there will be members of the Bush cabinet who know the Chilean reality much better than those in the Reagan cabinet.

### TASS Correspondent on Opening Santiago Office

*PY2312140488 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] The possibility that the Soviet news agency TASS will reopen its offices in Santiago has not been ruled out. The TASS offices in Santiago were closed in September 1973 after Chile and the Soviet Union severed their relations because TASS was an official Soviet agency.

This announcement was made by Anatoliy Medvedenko, the TASS correspondent for Latin America who is currently visiting Santiago after being authorized to enter Chile.

TASS is currently sending reports on Chile from the TASS offices in Buenos Aires.

After not visiting Chile for 15 years, Anatoliy Medvedenko was amazed by the progress in Santiago. He pointed out that the Soviet press is experiencing increased openness after the implementation of glasnost by Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the countries where it has offices, the TASS news agency usually acts as a propaganda agent for the Soviet state and as an information agent for the Soviet intelligence services.

### Pinochet Christmas Address Calls for Unity

*PY2512211888 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1942 GMT 25 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Santiago, 25 Dec (TELAM-EFE)—General Augusto Pinochet, Chilean chief of state, has asked "those who do not accept me," to join in "the huge task of giving more to those who need it." Pinochet made these remarks during his Christmas radio and television broadcast.

Pinochet, who has been ruling Chile since September 1973 when he overthrew Salvador Allende's constitutional administration in a bloody coup d'etat, also asked last night that "violence be banished from the face of the earth."

In his Christmas address, Pinochet said: "Fellow citizens, help me become a better president of Chile for all of you, and let us unite in the quest for happiness for the Chilean family."

The 73-year-old ruler said that it is difficult to resolve everyone's problems, adding that "being aware of this, I have always worked for the good of the nation, and this has been reflected in my decisions."

Pinochet went on to say: "For those who do not accept me, I ask them to join in the huge task of giving more to those who need it. Do it for the fatherland, because we all share the same destiny." [passage omitted]

### Pinochet Asks for Resignation of 68 Mayors

*PY2712010088 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] President Pinochet today asked for the resignation of 9 mayors in the metropolitan region and 59 from other regions of the country.

This information was disclosed this afternoon in an official communique. The mayors of the metropolitan area are: Margarita Moreno of Las Condes, (Bento Ojeda) of La Florida, (Alberto Krumen) of Maipu, Jose Aguilera of Lapa, Victor Vazquez of Puente Alto, Juan Carlos Mella of Pirque, Alejandro Briones of Calera de Tango, Augusto Contreras of Alue, and (Lina Aguirre) of Penaflor. [passage omitted]

### Government Considers Meeting Opposition's Aylwin

*PY2412010588 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] According to Minister Secretary of Government Miguel Angel Poduje, the government will receive representatives of the Coalition of Political Parties for Democracy in La Moneda Palace.

Poduje talked to reporters after a 2-hour cabinet meeting at the Interior Ministry in La Moneda Palace.

Poduje was asked if the interior minister will receive Patricio Aylwin, Christian Democratic Party [PDC] president and spokesman of the coalition for democracy, to speak about the constitutional reforms that the coalition thinks are necessary for a transition democracy.

[Begin recording] [Poduje] [words indistinct] is on the agenda of the minister of the interior, who is evaluating whether Aylwin's petition is within the context of the government's first call for a dialogue on institutional issues. All Chileans have the right to give their opinions to the government.

What is important is that the analysis is proceeding and that we will have an answer in a short time. The final decision and the planning of the procedures are part of an evaluation currently being conducted by the Interior Ministry.

[Reporter] Is the government planning to issue the formal invitation this month?

[Poduje] Probably this month or next month. [end recording]

Poduje said the meeting between the PDC and the National Renewal Party was something positive and that the government understands that the discussions are meaningful.

Finally, Poduje said that Labor Minister Guillermo Arthur's statement regarding a possible government discussion of a pardon for labor leaders Manuel Bustos and Arturo Martinez was due to a misunderstanding. The situation was not discussed today, Poduje said.

### Caceres To Meet Aylwin

*PY2712022488 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0145 GMT 27 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Santiago, 26 Dec (EFE)—Interior Minister Carlos Caceres today announced that on 3 January he will receive an opposition delegation headed by its spokesman, Patricio Aylwin. Caceres denied that Luis Maira, president of the Broad Party of the Socialist Left [Partido Amplio de la Izquierda Socialista, PAIS] would attend the meeting.

In a public statement, Caceres said he had already told the presidents of the Christian Democratic Party, Patricio Aylwin; Party for Democracy (PPD), Ricardo Lagos; and Radical Party, Enrique Silva Simma, that he would receive them at Government House. [passage omitted]

Caceres considers Maira, the current PAIS president, "the leader of a political party where Communists and people from other sectors are grouped, while ignoring the current institutional order and following a strategy of rupture as a result of a far-reaching political alliance." [passage omitted]

### Aylwin Meets With National Renewal Leaders

*PY2712011288 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Patricio Aylwin, spokesman for the coalition of opposition parties, will be reprimanded or at least criticized for not informing the members of the coalition about the meeting he held with leaders of the National Renewal Party at the Hotel Carrera in Santiago last week.

Since Ricardo Lagos returned from Europe with new ideas and with instructions to activate the opposition, the coalition has been meeting every week to plan new actions, to search for a presidential candidate, to plan a program, and to establish who the boss is in that organization.

The Christian Democratic Party [PDC] has lost credibility in the last few months, despite the denials by its leaders, because of the harsh internal struggle for the presidential candidacy that has kept the opposition at a standstill. The coalition of opposition parties on 20 December expressed support for Aylwin in his problems within the PDC, hoping he would be the winning candidate. However, the coalition knew nothing about the meeting Aylwin planned to hold just a few hours later with National Renewal Party leader Sergio Onofre Jarpa and his followers.

That meeting annoyed the left and the extreme left. Criticism emerged from the Socialist sectors headed by Nunez and Almeyda, the proscribed Communists, the Nationalist Party, the Radicals, and even from the PDC youth sector, which loudly called for a new politician to lead the PDC. [passage omitted]

Air Force chief General Fernando Matthei indicated, however, that meetings among politicians are part of a democratic spirit and are good for the country. He said this with regard to the meeting between the PDC and National Renewal Party. Matthei did not want to elaborate on the contacts between the government and the opposition because this is the responsibility of the executive branch. [passage omitted]

PDC Secretary General Gutemberg Martinez said that a party cannot lose its independence or ability to hold bilateral meetings with other political parties. This is how Martinez responded to the criticism of some parties of the coalition against the PDC for not notifying them ahead of time about the meeting with the National Renewal Party.

Martinez added that any party has the right to contact other political forces to discuss political issues, and that this should not lead to confusion. He said that Patricio Aylwin did comment about the contact with the National Renewal Party during the latest coalition meeting, but that he did not go into detail because it was not the proper thing to do. He added that the meeting with National Renewal Party was held to discuss the constitutional amendment issue which had already been discussed with the 17 parties of the coalition. He said that the negative thing would have been for the PDC to hold a different stand than that of the coalition parties.

National Renewal Party Vice President Miguel Otero said the attacks and criticism will not prevent the party from searching for what is best for the country. He said this in reference to the adverse reaction to the talks held with the PDC about possible constitutional amendments. [passage omitted]

## FPMR Spokesman on Party's Split, Other Issues

*PY2312125688 Santiago APSI in Spanish 12-18 Dec 88 pp 9, 10, 11*

[Interview with Jorge Salas, official spokesman for the national directorate of the FPMR-Party by Moulian; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The 14th of December will be the 5th anniversary of the national blackout of the news that the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) had been born. The objectives of this organization, which was taking its first steps that night, were to put an end to Pinochet's regime and to abrogate the 1980 Constitution. From that time on, the FPMR has suffered more than one stumble in its undertakings. The split that occurred at some undefined time during the last 6 months of 1987 is probably the most significant stumble.

On the eve of the anniversary, Jorge Salas, the official spokesman of the national directorate of the FPMR-Party—the faction that is still linked to the Communist Party even though both factions deny it, and the one which maintains the organization's original ideology—contacted APSI. Thus, in this interview the FPMR-Party clarifies its position as related to current events.

[Passage omitted] [Moulian] Do you believe that a direct confrontation with the regime will help the transition?

[Salas] Hold on a minute. We believe that the mobilization should aim at reforming the dictatorial institutional system because only then can the regime be reformed. The changes will only be achieved through pressure.

[Moulian] What do you mean? Is the FPMR going to launch an offensive if it does not see any improvement in the situation?

[Salas] The FPMR's usual policy is to advance together with the people. That is, the FPMR will act in accordance with the people; it will join the struggle of all Chileans. We will not direct the struggle. We understand the importance of all parties being involved in this struggle. We know there are political organizations that have the duty to lead and direct the struggle. We will actively cooperate with them. We will direct all our efforts toward strengthening the mobilization. [passage omitted]

[Moulian] But the FPMR has failed in its attempt to defeat the repression, not to mention the defeat of the regime.

[Salas] That statement brings us back to the theory that the FPMR is alone in its struggle against the tyranny, that it constitutes an alternative army. This is not true. The FPMR is not an alternative army opposing the repressive forces of the dictatorship. The FPMR acts as a complement to the struggle of the masses. It helps fight the most important repressive forces, it helps defend the poor shantytowns, it helps the struggle of the masses, but it is not an army. This is why you cannot speak of an FPMR failure against the Chilean Army. Besides, we do not believe the Armed Forces are solidly behind Pinochet. There are important democratic sectors within the Armed Forces that can be convinced to support the popular cause. We do not think that because a person wears a uniform he is an enemy of the people.

[Moulian] What do you think of "the national patriotic war" launched by the FPMR-Autonomous?

[Salas] I would not like to comment on that topic because when they split they formed a new organization. We do not like to talk about other revolutionary organizations. The problem is that even though they have a different and distinct political and military doctrine, and thought they practice different tactics and strategies, they continue to use our name. That is the problem. Each time they say or do something that does not agree with our strategy, we have to stand up and explain. This situation is confusing.

[Moulian] But do you have any clear opinion on "the national patriotic war?"

[Salas] We have a clear opinion on this war. There is a document on the subject that is about to be published. "The national patriotic war" is obviously not part of our policy. We think that we do not have a war in Chile...No...Our opinion is that it is not the most appropriate policy. We will explain the political and military reasons for rejecting it later.

[Moulian] The FPMR-Autonomous argues that the split was caused by the FPMR and PCCh irresolution at a time when a decision to fight was necessary.

[Salas] The fact is that we do not want to get involved in an argument each time they say something, because the discussion does not interest the country. We want, however, to state clearly that we are different.

[Moulian] What is your opinion of the PCCh and its current congress?

[Salas] We have said many times that our relations with the PCCh is a fraternal one. We maintain good relations with the PCCh, but not only with the PCCh.

[Moulian] Is the FPMR going to send any document to the PCCh congress?

[Salas] A document to the congress? On behalf of the FPMR? The Communist militants who participate here and who are temporarily separated from the PCCh will be present at the congress somehow. This is a problem to be resolved by the Communist militants themselves, but the FPMR will not participate. It is not fitting, because the FPMR is not part of the PCCh. [passage omitted]

### Molotov Cocktails, Explosive Seized at University

*PY2612171088 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] La Serena—Carabineros have found 28 Molotov cocktails, 4 kg of ammonium nitrate, and other explosive elements between the roof and the ceiling in a room at the La Serena University Engineering Department.

The explosive materials were wrapped in a plastic sack behind pieces of timber on the gymnasium ceiling. Police found, in addition to the Molotov cocktails and the ammonium nitrate, 4 meters of slow burning fuse, 6 meters of detonator string, and 13 primers of different sizes.

Carabineros delivered all the explosive materials to the National Intelligence Center the investigation can be pursued.

## Colombia

### President Barco Ratifies Antarctic Treaty

*PA2612224888 Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 23 Dec 88, p 1*

[Unattributed Report]

[Text] President Virgilio Barco has approved Law 67 of December 1988, which ratifies the Antarctic Treaty, signed in Washington on 1 December 1959. The treaty is concerned with the peaceful use of the Antarctic. Countries signing the treaty can use the Antarctic for scientific investigations. The document establishes that the Antarctic is to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and prohibits, among other things, the use of the area for military bases or fortifications. It also prohibits military exercises or weapons testing in the area.

### Government Increases Minimum Daily Wage

*PA2512141888 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Dec 88*

[Summary] Through Decree 2662, the Virgilio Barco administration today increased the Colombian workers' minimum wage by 27 percent. Beginning on 1 January, the minimum daily wage will be 1,085.32 pesos, which is a monthly increase of 6,922.10 pesos.

### New Import, Export Figures Released

*PA2312131988 Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 17 Dec 88 p 3A*

[Summary] Figures obtained from customs declarations indicate that from January to October 1988, Colombian exports totalled $4.136 billion. Meanwhile, a National Administrative Department of Statistics report indicates that imports during that period totalled $4.209 billion.

Exports of secondary products (excluding coffee and oil) totalled $1.717 billion and represented more than 40 percent of total exports. Exports of oil and oil by-products totalled $1.049 billion, while coffee exports amounted to $1.370 billion.

Imports of chemical products, plastic raw materials, iron and steel, and electronic appliances all increased between 23 and 41 percent.

### Three FARC Guerrillas Killed in Clash

*PA2512134288 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1750 GMT 24 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Bogota, 24 Dec (EFE)—Colombian Defense Minister General Jaime Guerrero Paz today delivered a Christmas message to all public force members who will not be spending Christmas in their homes but will instead be fulfilling their duty by brandishing their weapons in the deepest parts of the jungles, mountains, and valleys.

According to military sources, three members of the communist FARC guerrilla group died today—on the eve of Christmas—in a clash with the Army in Yarima, in northeastern Santander Province. [passage omitted]

In his last statements before Christmas eve, General Nelson Mejia Henao, commander in chief of the Colombian Army, said that if the guerrillas demonstrate their desire for peace through their actions and by handing over their weapons, this peace will be welcome. If they do not want peace, he added, they will have to face the consequences.

During a military ceremony at the Army's 3d Division, General Mejia Henao said the Army will strike the guerrillas with violence because the Army is trained and capable, and has the means to do so. [passage omitted]

**3 Bombs Destroy Antioquia Department Checkpoint**
*PA2612160788 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0100 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] This morning, three bombs destroyed a checkpoint that was being built in Santa Fe, Antioquia Department, at a place known as Paseo Real. According to the authorities, the losses exceed 3 million pesos.

**Police Seize Cocaine Headed for Miami**
*PA2312233288 Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 21 Dec 88 p 12-A*

[Summary] The police have seized 26.5 kg of cocaine hidden in the drawers of office furniture inside a container that was to be sent to Miami today. The cargo, which was stored at the Caribbean Airlines (LAC) terminal, was sent from Barranquilla by the Trans Pack Company. The furniture was to have been received in Bogota by the Global Service Company and sent to Canada via Miami.

## Ecuador

**Borja Will Pay Social Debt Before Economic Debt**
*PA2512045088 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1822 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja announced today that his government will give priority to the domestic social debt over the foreign economic debt, although he reiterated his commitment to fulfilling all financial obligations, "to the extent allowed by the crisis."

At a meeting with the international news media, Borja said: "There is an enormous social debt, whose payment will be given priority." He added: "It is a debt with the poor and the unemployed, who are hungry, cold, and ill.

However, the Ecuadoran, Social Democrat head of state gave assurances that his country would pay its foreign debt, totalling $8.1 billion, "when the appropriate levels of liquidity and financial backing exist." [passage omitted]

At the beginning of December, Ecuador resumed the renegotiation of its foreign debt, whose payment has been suspended since January 1987. "So far, we have defined the fiscal situation, and we have stated the impossibility of our paying under the present terms," said Borja, as he reported that there is still no agreement with the creditor banks.

The 53-year old Ecuadoran president stated that his government will not accept "internal nor external pressures of any kind"; he also said that the economic measures adopted by his administration are diametrically opposed to the recommendations customarily made by the IMF." [as received]

Among the measures adopted by the current government are the seizure of foreign exchange obtained from exports, the elimination of floating prices for staple goods, the imposition of restrictions on imports, the application of state controls on the banking and financial systems, and the budgeting of foreign exchange for foreign trade. [passage omitted]

Borja said that the control of inflation, whose average annual rate exceeded 80 percent for the first time, will be the "primary target" of his economic policy. [passage omitted]

**Borja on Economic Measures**
*PA2612214188 Paris AFP in Spanish 1820 GMT 26 Dec 88*

[Text] Quito, 26 Dec (AFP)—Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja showed optimism today regarding the results of the economic measures adopted on 30 August. Borja said that "the stabilization of our economy will determine our development."

Borja rejected claims that the 30 August measures follow IMF guidelines. He asserted that "anyone who is properly informed knows the IMF recommendations are the exact opposite of the measures we have adopted and that, in fact, with our measures, the state has more control over the economy."

In an exclusive interview with Benjamin Ortiz, director of the Quito newspaper HOY, in its 26 December edition, the Social Democratic president said: "We have ended the period of an uncontrolled economy and the constant floating of the currency."

Recalling the measures he adopted, President Borja added: "We seized foreign exchange and assumed its administration. We imposed severe restrictions on imports and created a foreign exchange budget. We fixed interest rates and gave the benefits of the exchange rates to the Ecuadoran Central Bank."

Borja said: "In sum, the state recovered its power to regulate the economy, which is precisely the opposite of what the IMF usually recommends."

Borja said the Ecuadoran people "understand that we inherited a bankrupt nation and that the measures we had to adopt to deal with the crisis are justified."

Referring to business sector charges that his economic program will lead to a recession, Borja said: "Anti-inflationary measures often lead to a recession. By the same token, measures to overcome a recession often have an inflationary effect."

He continued: "One has to walk the line between recession and inflation, and try not to fall into either of these two evils," adding that this is the goal of the measures that have been adopted.

Borja said that the major problems he has encountered are: In the political sphere, the deterioration of all the institutions and symbols of Ecuadoran democracy; in the social sphere, the aspirations of the labor and student sectors; and in the economy, the fact that the economy is in total chaos, the public sector is massively underfinanced, the foreign debt has doubled, the nation's reserves have been depleted, and "scandalous corruption." The president said the most difficult thing he has faced since taking office on 10 August is "the underfinancing of institutions, all of which have truly unmanageable deficits."

Borja reiterated his goal to lower the current annual inflation rate of 80 percent to 30 percent by August 1989. "That is our goal," he stressed.

Concluding the interview the president said: "We know it is not easy to fight inflation, which we inherited from the previous administration" of former conservative president Leon Febres Cordero. He added "the prices we have to live with are the result of mistakes made by the Febres Cordero administration."

### Taura Commandos Freed From Garcia Moreno Prison

*PA2512161088 Quito Radio Quito in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] The Taura commandos imprisoned in Garcia Moreno Prison in Quito have been freed. The government has thus complied with the law granting amnesty to the Ecuadoran Air Force members involved in the 16 January 1987 abduction of former President Leon Febres-Cordero.

Captain John Maldonado and commandos (Pedro Dimas Lor), (Embriceno Wilson Navideno), and (Raul Espinoza) were released early this morning. Several days ago, 35 commandos imprisoned in Quito and Guayaquil penitentiaries were freed. With the application of the amnesty law for the remaining five, the Taura commandos have recovered their civil, political, and economic rights taken away during Leon Febres-Cordero's Social Christian regime. [passage omitted]

## Peru

### Garcia Views Economy, Confirms Ministers

*PY2312211888 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 1110 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Interview by President Alan Garcia to unidentified reporters place and date not given, recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified reporter] Mr President, what is your opinion of the Pact for Peruvian Progress that has been proposed by the Popular Christian Party?

[Garcia] I believe the proposal is very positive. All parties, including the APRA, must agree on a common program to help us overcome our current difficulties. I believe we are already overcoming these difficulties, although overcoming them is hard. Therefore, to achieve our goal, we need the understanding and cooperation of all Peruvians. [passage omitted]

Peru can function well as a nation. I am sure that country will overcome its economic difficulties in a few months. To overcome terrorism, which is our greatest scourge, and economic difficulties, society must agree to implement a common program, even if absolute agreement is not reached. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] What is your opinion about Alva Castro's election as APRA secretary general?

[Garcia] As an APRA member, I must accept the decisions reached by our party congress.

[Unidentified reporter] Some economists have mentioned a series of irregularities in the economic field. There have been rumors that the dollar will reach 3,000 intis in January. What is your opinion on that, Mr President?

[Garcia] These are end-of-the-year exaggerations. [passage omitted]

Currently, our gold reserves amount to $371 million. Only half of that consists of medals and coins that have historic value. We also have more than $100 million in silver can be converted into money at once because we produce silver. In currency we have $156 million. All these assets are in the Reserves Bank. Yesterday, total assets amounted to $639 million.

Naturally, this is not enough, we must continue to increase our reserves. Compared with 30 September 1988, when our reserves amounted to $451 million, the total is now greater.

First, we are now saving more of our reserves. Second, the amount of subsidies has also been substantially reduced. The monthly November subsidy on foodstuff amounted to more than $80 million. Subsidies now amount to $50 million, and with small readjustments we

will reduce subsidies further without having to resort to the formidable impacts proposed by the international financial organizations. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] Will there be another economic package as of 1 January?

[Garcia] I do not believe we will need an economic package in January. The September and November packages have already been enough. [passage omitted]

As our reserves increase and the subsidies are reduced, the readjustments will become more gradual.

[Unidentified reporter] There have been rumors that the justice minister has tendered his resignation.

[Garcia] The Christian Democratic Party—our coalition partners since 1985—believed that after the APRA 16th Congress it had to place the positions of justice minister and Agrarian Bank chairman, which are occupied by two of its members, at the disposal of the president of the Republic. I praised their noble attitude and explained that I am very happy to count on their cooperation. [passage omitted]

I personally reiterate my confidence in them, and thank them for their cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reported] [Question indistinct]

[Garcia] I thank you for your question. Yes, I have seen news on rumors that Armando Villanueva del Campo might be replaced as head of the Ministerial Council and as prime minister. I take this opportunity to reiterate my absolute confidence on Armando Villanueva as APRA leader, as senator, and head of the Ministerial Council and prime minister. [passage omitted]

### Garcia on Vienna Antinarcotics Convention

*PY2212143788 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 22 Dec 88*

[Text] President Alan Garcia Perez wants the new accord on the struggle against drug trafficking to be enforced as soon as possible in order to fight this scourge more effectively.

Alan Garcia has sent a message to Bolivian Foreign Minister Guillermo Bedregal, who chaired a plenipontentiary representatives conference on drugs which ended in Vienna last Tuesday.

The message sent by President Garcia has been released by our Foreign Ministry to inform the general public.

The Peruvian president says: Upon learning about the efforts made by the international community within the framework of the plenipotentiary representatives conference that you have chaired with so much dignity, I express the Peruvian people's and Government's congratulations for the praiseworthy task performed by the honorable representatives who participated in this conference with the political will that is motivating the UN member countries to jointly reject the worldwide increase in the illegal consumption of drugs.

The Peruvian president adds: Likewise, I want the new international decisions to be implemented as soon as possible in order to support the efforts made by national, regional, and international organizations, based on the principles of equality and shared responsibility in order to eradicate one of the most serious worldwide problems currently troubling modern society.

### Prime Minister Visits Huancayo To Show Support

*PY2212142888 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 22 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] This morning Prime Minister Armando Villanueva del Campo and the health minister unexpectedly arrived in Huancayo for a visit aimed at guaranteeing the normal functioning of stores and banks, which were closed due to an alleged strike sponsored by surbversives.

Villanueva walked down the town's main streets and ordered several stores, banks, and public offices to open their doors and start normal functions.

At the Huancayo town hall, Villanueva urged the store owners and important local businessmen to continue working fearlessly because his presence in the region demonstrates that the government guarantees the people's security and offers them its support. [passage omitted]

National Police Director General Octavio Herrera Polo has reported that a large number of policemen were sent to Huancayo to guarantee people's security and calm them. [passage omitted]

### Christian Democratic Officials Offer To Resign

*PY2312154088 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 23 Dec 88*

[Text] After explaining that the decision of Christian Democratic Party [PDC] government officials to offer their resignations to the head of state does not mean a break with the APRA, Christian Democratic leader Carlos Blancas said that the party will continue to cooperate with President Alan Garcia's government.

[Begin recording] [Blancas] We have decided that the reliable PDC government officials, headed by the justice minister, the Agrarian Bank president, and other officials who hold very important posts, will tender their resignations to the president of the Republic today to give him a free hand to organize his government and make appropriate decisions concerning the management of public administration, bearing in mind the conclusions of the APRA congress, which demanded greater APRA participation in the government.

[Reporter] Notwithstanding, Dr Carlos Blancas, it has leaked that the president of the Republic has confirmed the justice minister in his post after or during a council of ministers meeting at government palace. What can you tell us about this? What are the prospects for PDC?

[Blancas] I do not have any information on this because we are here now, finishing a news conference reporting our party's decision.

Of course, we are awaiting the decision of the president of the Republic, whose friendship has always been an honor for us and whom we hold in profound respect and high esteem.

The purpose of our party's decision is precisely to help him in his tenure, giving him a free hand to make appropriate decision in keeping with the decisions of the APRA congress, decisions that, as an APRA militant, he must take into account and observe.

[Reporter] If your members are confined in their posts will the PDC continue to march along with APRA?

[Blancas] We have no problems in continuing cooperation with the APRA. However, we want a clear-cut and well-defined attitude in keeping with our party's dignity. [end recording]

### Terrorists Dynamite CENTROMIN Installations

*PY2712113288 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish*
*0236 GMT 27 Dec 88*

[Text] Lima, 26 Dec (AFP)—The Peruvian police have reported that subversives of the Maoist Shining Path Organization today dynamited the installations of a plant belonging to the state mining enterprise CENTROMIN [Central Peruvian Mining Enterprise] in the central Andean Mountains region.

According to the report, some 12 armed men entered the plant that belongs to CENTROMIN, the most important Peruvian enterprise, and planted bombs that destroyed compressors and a transformer.

According to a CENTROMIN source, the explosions caused considerable damage to the plant but no casualties. He did not give any figures, however, on the damage.

This is the second attact on the Morococha Plant, the mining center located on the Andean Mountains at an altitude of 4,500 meters. According to the authorities, on Christmas Day, Shining Path terrorists bombed the cable-car system which is used to transport ore.

The terrorist attack took place on the 1st day of a 72-hour armed truce [paro armado] called by the Shining Path in the mining town of La Oroya, near Morocha, (180 km east of Lima).

La Oroya police sources reported that the day was normal, without incidents, and that no strike was detected in any productive sector.

### New APRA National Executive Committee Named

*PY2112152188 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish*
*0100 GMT 21 Dec 88*

[Text] The new APRA National Executive Committee is made up as follows:
Secretary General: Luis Alva Castro
Deputy Secretary General: (Benigno Chirinos)
Secretary for Organization: (Jilmer Calderon Cuenca)
Secretary for Discipline: (Antonio Palomiro)
Secretary for Economy: Carlos Alvarado Contreras
Secretary for Youth Affairs: (Luis Lopez Orihuela)
Secretary for Women's Political Action: (Julia Barrera)
Secretary for Gonzalez Prada Popular University: (Julio Calderon Ramirez)
Secretary for International Relations: (Jose Luis Perez)
Secretary for Social Promotion: (Sanchez Cerro)
Secretary for Press and Propaganda: Santiago Carranza Varas
Secretary for Cooperatives: Augusto Lanatta Lanatta
Secretary for Cultural Affairs: (Ricardo Ochoso Sanchez)
Secretary for Professional Associations: (Ricardo Soriano)
Secretary for Small-size Businessmen and Industrialists: Felix Quispe
Secretary for Trade Union Affairs: Carlos Pacheco Giron
Secretary for the Interior: (Leonidas Santander Estrada)
Secretary for Government Program Committee: (Sonia Albas)
Secretary for Internal Control and Property: (Victor Lopez Garcia)
Secretary for Financial Affairs: Jorge Idiaquez Oscar Caipo
Secretary for Education Affairs: Eugenio Chang Cruz
Secretary for Local Governments: Oswaldo Moran Marquez
Secretary for Discipline and Ethics: Luis Alvarado Contreras
Secretary for Electoral Affairs: Freddy Ghilardi
Secretary for Popular Organizations and Shantytowns: Wilbert Bendezu Carpio
Secretary for Peasant and Agrarian Affairs: (Jose Carrasco Carrion)
Political Committee: Luis Alberto Sanchez, Carlos Enrique Melgar, (Jose Barba Caballero), Mercedes Cabanillas, Javier Valle Riestra, and Jorge del Castillo Valdez.

### * Vargas Llosa's Views on 1990 Election Analyzed

*33480049b Lima CARETAS in Spanish*
*7 Nov 88 pp 27-28, 80*

[Text] Strange things tend to happen in Peru, but the notion that the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) might emerge unscathed from the 1990 elections is too unbelievable even for here.

No personal references, please.

There is no need to point out that government candidates are on a losing streak in Latin America. The attrition rate is terrible. In Argentina the Radicals will turn over the reins to the Peronists and Mennen [as published]; in Venezuela the Social Christians (COPEI) will give way to Carlos Andres Perez' Democratic Action (AD). The outcome was similar in Colombia, and will be repeated in Bolivia. In Mexico, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) victory has been called into question. Even the dictator "Pinocchio" lost his plebiscite by more than a nose in Chile.

In Peru, logic suggests that the APRA candidate will take third place, and that the Aprist Party of Peru's share of parliamentary seats will be reduced proportionally.

However, no one expects either of its two foreseeable opponents, that of the Democratic Front (FREDEMO) and that of the United Left (UI) to win more than 50 percent on the first round.

In other words, the indefatigable Aprists will end up tipping the balance toward the winner in the second round.

Mario Vargas Llosa, the virtually proclaimed candidate of the FREDEMO, has viewed the situation from this perspective and plans on winning the anticommunist Aprist vote.

This plan is no mere whim.

For decades, APRA has fought against the Communist Party and its Marxist-Leninist derivatives on the labor, student, and electoral fronts.

Haya de la Torre evolved, in fact, from his Marxist origins and his Second International orientation into one of the theologists of third-world anticommunism. By 1939, Manuel Prado was already persecuting the clandestine APRA movement while making deals with the Communist Party (which eventually dubbed the aristocratic president the "Peruvian Stalin"). While taking refuge in the Colombian Embassy during the Odria dictatorship, Haya wrote "Espacio-Tiempo-Historico" [Historical Space-Time] and "Toynbee y los Panoramas de la Historia" [Toynbee and the Perspectives of History], and it was this thought process, furthered by his work on "Treinta anos de aprismo" [Thirty Years of Aprism] that led to his final rupture with Marxism-Leninism and communism.

The rhetoric and philosophy expressed by Vargas Llosa (who in his youth was at least a Fidelist) reflect an unbridled anticommunism which does not indulge in the niceties that are so common in the cautious international intellectual "establishment," where it is in bad taste not to be a leftist.

That Vargas Llosa is committed to his philosophy no one doubts—his militant anticommunism is typical of converts—but his political rhetoric may also be colored by the results of some public opinion polls and the electoral statistics of the past:

- The preference for a "government of the left" or one like the present government (40.4 percent) is leaning away from the idea of a socialist system attained through revolution (4.3 percent) (CARETAS 1016).
- The United States and other Western nations are labeled "friendly" in preference to the USSR, the People's Republic of China, or Cuba.
- The left generally obtains better results in municipal elections than in general ones, where the country's future is at stake.
- The PCP [Peruvian Communist Party] itself attracts only a small number of votes.
- The labor movement, controlled by the Marxist left, does occupy strategic positions but is comparatively small in terms of the country's population.
- The "informal" world, most manifest in the slums of the capital, is remarkably pragmatic. In 1978 it helped the left win, in 1980 it supported Belaunde, in 1983 Alfonso Barrantes, and in 1985 APRA.

Where Vargas Llosa may err is in taking aim at Barrantes together with President Alan Garcia. Barrantes, a leftist with moderate tendencies (and a former Aprist to boot) gets along well with Garcia, a left-leaning social democrat. But that does not mean that the former is a communist in the totalitarian sense of the word, or that the latter is a "collectivist." Moreover, it is difficult to imagine the majority of the electorate seeing things in this light, either.

It should be recalled that in the 1985 elections, candidate Alan Garcia Perez turned down an invitation from the sectors of the IU to sign a basic agreement.

The IU is a multi-headed beast, and Frejolito's head is not one of the most radical ones, nor one of the most antagonistic, especially with regard to APRA.

CARETAS asked Mercadeo y Opinion to try to determine what would happen if the electorate had to choose now between Barrantes and Vargas Llosa in a run-off election.

The first question, which focuses on parties, shows the FREDEMO winning; but on the next question, focusing on candidates, Vargas Llosa comes in behind Barrantes. Why? The Belaunde factor. The growing presence of Belaunde (see CARETAS 1029) adds to that of Vargas Llosa.

Afterwards, in a hypothetical run-off election, Barrantes pulls ahead. At present, it appears that 4 percent of the defeated Aprists would vote for Barrantes, and just 2 percent for Vargas Llosa.

- Vargas Llosa, in short, should very carefully calibrate his attacks on the Aprist government. He is undoubtedly seeking at this time to exploit the visible differences between the president and the parliamentary delegation.
- But an excessive stereotyping of Alan Garcia Perez from a perspective that is too biased to the right could neutralize any effort. APRA is, in essence, a center-left party.

**1. Which party would you vote for if the presidential elections were held tomorrow?**

| | | Socioeconomic Level | | Sex | | Age | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | High/Med. | Low | Male | Female | 18-35 | 36 and over |
| FREDEMO | 28 | 48 | 17 | 26 | 30 | 29 | 26 |
| IU | 26 | 11 | 34 | 29 | 23 | 24 | 29 |
| APRA | 14 | 8 | 17 | 13 | 15 | 16 | 11 |
| Others | 4 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| Blank | 10 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 12 | 8 | 13 |
| Don't Know/No Opinion | 18 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 19 | 20 | 15 |

**2. For which of these candidates would you vote for president?**

| | | Socioeconomic Level | | Sex | | Age | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | High/Med. | Low | Male | Female | 18-35 | 36 and above |
| Alfonso Barrantes | 32 | 17 | 40 | 35 | 29 | 27 | 40 |
| Mario Vargas Llosa | 30 | 54 | 17 | 26 | 34 | 30 | 30 |
| Luis Alva Castro | 12 | 7 | 15 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 9 |
| None/Blank | 10 | 9 | 10 | 13 | 7 | 11 | 8 |
| Don't Know/No Opinion | 16 | 13 | 18 | 15 | 17 | 18 | 13 |

**3. Assuming that Alfonso Barrantes of the IU and Mario Vargas Llosa of the FREDEMO faced each other in a run-off, which of them would get your vote?**

| | | Socioeconomic Level | | Sex | | Age | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | High/Med. | Low | Male | Female | 18-35 | 36 and above |
| Alfonso Barrantes (IU) | 36 | 15 | 47 | 36 | 36 | 34 | 39 |
| Vargas Llosa (FREDEMO) | 32 | 65 | 14 | 33 | 31 | 32 | 32 |
| None/Blank | 11 | 6 | 14 | 9 | 13 | 11 | 11 |
| Don't Know/No Opinion | 21 | 14 | 25 | 22 | 20 | 23 | 18 |

A flash poll conducted by the Mercadeo y Opinion agency on 2 and 3 November, in which 600 people in Greater Lima were surveyed, shows that Alfonso Barrantes continues to be the candidate of choice on the left. When asked about party preferences, the respondents gave the FREDEMO a slight edge, but the ratio was inversed when the question focused on candidates (see Questions 1 and 2). The vote even continues to favor Barrantes in a hypothetical run-off with Mario Vargas Llosa (see interview).

**And the Other Left?**

The events that have taken place within the Mariateguist Unified Party (PUM) favor the position of the Socialist Convergence, which supports Barrantes. It would join together the most presentable groups of the left. The only ones who continue to call themselves communist are the Revolutionary Communist Party of Manuel Dammert and the inevitable pro-Moscow PCP.

The extreme leftists still favor the new grouping, because (perhaps taking the cure while they are still healthy) the few remaining in the PUM with the Communist Party of Peru (Red Fatherland) and the Student-Peasant-Worker Popular Front (FOCEP) of Genaro Ledesma issued a communique last Friday 4 November in which they called upon the next congress to vote to convert the IU into a "revolutionary front of masses" to counteract the "electioneering" that it has engaged in to the present.

Thus, Barrantes would have left in his camp the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR) of Enrique Bernales, the nonpartisan followers of Edmundo Murrugarra, and the leftist Christians.

In the beginning of the 1980s, the most lucid communists, obviously including Barrantes, knew that the left was not mature enough to attain power. They knew it did not have enough cadres to administer the country effectively. In 1985, the IU fared poorly in the elections, and Barrantes declined to participate in the run-off against the Alan Garcia tidal wave.

This time, his closest followers agree, he is determined to do battle to win the presidency in 1990. For this purpose, he may possibly sever his ties—as he previously did from Stalinism and even from the Leninist aspects of his Marxism—with his communist roots. The Socialist Convergence is a good beginning.

Indeed, he has taken so seriously the possibility of attaining power that he has been discreetly taking an

intensive course in English to avoid the unfortunate situations that have befallen a few officials of the Aprist government.

That will not be the only difference between him and the Aprist government, assuming he takes office in 1990. He also has a very clear idea that it is the president who names his cabinet, and that the party quota system that prevailed until the municipal elections of 1986 can have no place there. He is even reported to have said that some ministers in production-related portfolios could be independent technicians with no ties to any party.

And what about the parliamentary lists? Some aides of the owner of the little house that is growing out of La Capullana say that the quota system would have no place there, either. If government responsibilities have to be faced, the left cannot afford the luxury of having politically committed representatives who do not efficiently support the administration's efforts. This marks another difference he would like to establish between himself and the Aprist government.

These are surely the hypotheses proposed from the most optimistic perspective by those who are pulling the strings to bring the IU, headed by Alfonso Barrantes, to power in 1990. And Mario Vargas Llosa considers this the most dangerous Trojan horse.

*** Vargas Llosa on Barrantes, Elections**
*33480049c Lima CARETAS in Spanish*
*7 Nov 88 pp 29-31*

[Interview with Mario Vargas Llosa by Alberto Bonilla; 3 November, Washington, D.C.]

[Text] There are enough material and human resources in Latin America for us to develop at the same rate as other regions on the planet, said writer Mario Vargas Llosa, who is virtually certain to be named the candidate of the Democratic Front (FREDEMO), at the beginning of his speech to executives and officials of the World Bank. There are reasons for optimism, and it is a question of complementing the political freedom we have with the equivalent economic freedom, he pointed out last Thursday in Washington on the first leg of a tour that will include Germany and Canada.

[CARETAS] The frontal assault you launched on the communist left upon your departure caused a variety of reactions in Lima. Some say you are succumbing to a McCarthyist attitude.

[Vargas Llosa] There is no McCarthyism. I simply do not accept the blackmail of the extreme left, just as I never accepted that of the extreme right. I think that in 1990 there will be a very clear delineation in the Peruvian electorate between two models of society, one democratic and the other communist. The United Left (IU) represents the latter, although within the IU there are people who are not orthodox communists. The basic, central orientation of the IU is Marxist, and its objective is to turn the country into a communist-type society, in the short run or the long run. So that model of society should be not only criticized, but also described in terms of everything it stands for, so that we can contrast it to an open society of coexistence in free, pluralistic diversity, that is, democratic society. That is the debate we will have in 1990. The IU's strategy at this time is to try to conceal the Marxist, collectivist characteristics of its ideology, because it feels that this position has been deeply affected by the economic catastrophe that Alan Garcia has brought us to by copying and imitating many of the IU's ideas and theses. For this reason, the IU is trying to efface itself, creating an ideological ambiguity. Our function is precisely to unmask that ideological ambiguity and to confront them with what they have traditionally been and what they would undoubtedly become the day they won the elections, if that should happen.

[CARETAS] They claim the IU has not proclaimed itself communist.

[Vargas Llosa] George Orwell, in his marvelous novel "1984," gave us the best description of totalitarianism to be found in modern literature, and he explained the mechanism that the IU is putting to work today. It is the mechanism of the "new language," which does not express ideas but mere stereotypes, and conceals the true intentions of a totalitarian movement. This is exactly what the IU is doing today: Instead of speaking of communism it speaks of "Mariateguism"; instead of speaking of collectivism, it speaks of "rationalizing production." It is an entire terminology designed to create ambiguity and to distort the underlying meaning of the Marxist ideological message. On the one hand it claims to be Marxist, but on the other hand it prefers the terms socialism or Mariateguism to communism. We have to use a language that is absolutely clear, in which words have a crystal clear meaning, in which there is true ideological transparency. In this way, we will be able to nip these ambiguities in the bud, as we already know where they can lead. Don't forget that ambiguity was the primary characteristic of Alan Garcia's message in the last elections. In these elections, it will evidently be the primary characteristic of the IU candidate. We cannot accept those rules of play, but must do exactly the opposite: say exactly who we are, what we want, and what we are asking.

[CARETAS] Don't Barrantes' efforts to distance himself from the extremist sectors of the IU mean anything to you?

[Vargas Llosa] Well, Barrantes is in an extremely difficult position, because the IU is controlled by the extreme left in all aspects of its structure, national organization, and cadres. And the Mariateguist Unified Party (PUM) is the exemplary representative of that extreme left, as it has the most efficient infrastructure of any communist organization in the country. Barrantes cannot step out of the existing organization and infrastructure of the IU. But he knows that if he comes out with the typical message of that extreme left, he won't have the slightest

possibility of winning the elections; the bulk of the Peruvian population is not extremist and would not give a mandate to such a position. On the other hand, he can't appear too moderate, either, because he runs the risk of breaking the ties to that extreme left that is his base, the source of the grassroots organization that will support him in the campaign and eventually in his government. For this reason, he has opted for muteness, silence or ambiguous statements. But that strategy evidently can't last long. At a given moment, there will be a definition, and I think the definition will be an irremediable commitment to the extreme left, which has effective control of the IU and would really govern if the IU were to win the elections.

[CARETAS] What is your personal opinion of Barrantes?

[Vargas Llosa] I know Barrantes well from the university. He is an intelligent and honest man, probably the most intelligent communist in Peru. In fact, he is so intelligent that he has been able to give communism a benign, almost human character, even though all of contemporary history shows us what communism leads to once it is in power: not only the disappearance of freedom and the perpetuation of the sole party in power, but also to the repression of all forms of dissidence, to concentration camps, in short, to everything that is slowly beginning to be eliminated from the Soviet Union after 60 years of obscurantism. Barrantes has succeeded in making us forget all of that because of his sober and moderate manner, which makes communism seem inoffensive. But within his efficiency, Barrantes represents something extremely dangerous for Peru: the possibility that this totalitarian form of power might take over, which would mean the end of democracy and liberty. And from the economic standpoint, it would mean a regression to barbarism, given that economically, communism has failed in countries that are infinitely more powerful than Peru. That is why I am struggling to prevent totalitarianism from coming to power through free elections, the results of which, of course, all democratic Peruvians would have to respect.

[CARETAS] And those elections would be the last, in your opinion, if the communists won?

[Vargas Llosa] At least for the immediate future, sure. Communism has been a failure in all countries where it has been installed, from all points of view, but it has proven very adept at perpetuating the control of the party in power through an implacable but very effective system of repression.

[CARETAS] Does the FREDEMO believe that the outcome of the 1990 elections will be determined in a run-off?

[Vargas Llosa] I think FREDEMO's strategy should consist of mobilizing, trying to generate enthusiasm for the program of reforms in liberty that it is promoting, so that it can hope to win in the first round. But in the final analysis, it is most likely that a run-off will be necessary. In that case, the vote of the Aprist electorate will be of the utmost importance.

[CARETAS] Will the Aprist voters decide who wins, then?

[Vargas Llosa] Although APRA will come into the elections very debilitated by the disaster that Alan Garcia's presidency has been, it is undeniable that there is a loyal sector that will stay true to the party in the elections. That electorate will play a very important role in the second round, and it will be very interesting to see which side prevails, the Marxist, collectivist line that Alan Garcia has tried to follow, or the democratic line that Haya de la Torre pursued. I have the hope that the vast majority of the Aprist party recalls Haya de la Torre's democratic and very clearly anticommunist inspiration, and will side with us in that great battle that will be the battle for liberty.

**[Box, pp 30, 31]**

**On the Economic Crisis and the Foreign Debt**

"I can't speak for the FREDEMO platform, which is still on the drawing board, but I can speak for myself. I have just given a speech at the World Bank here in Washington. Just as I think it is absolutely imperative for Peru to resume the dialogue with all the international agencies, to show a serious willingness to discipline the economy, to reduce the budget deficit and do away with inflation, to drastically reduce the bureaucracy and state intervention in the economy, it is also imperative that, as a counterpart to this effort, the international credit organizations give us enough oxygen to make this effort a success. If we are given immediate aid, we will be able to attenuate the high social cost entailed by these measures, and the most underprivileged classes will suffer less than they are suffering now, because the lack of external aid is imposing such a high social cost on the current readjustment (which is a very incoherent one, at that). The debt should be renegotiated in such a way that the government that takes office in 1990 will first be able to fulfill the obligation that is incumbent upon governments of poor countries such as Peru, that is, the obligation to develop and grow to meet the population's needs. Then it will be able to fulfill the international commitments it has taken on. That should be the objective of the negotiations, in which a mutual effort should be made to restore dialogue and cooperation, which are absolutely indispensable for Peru to prosper."

**On the Bureaucracy and the Social Cost of Reducing It**

"A comprehensive program must be undertaken; it is not simply a matter of reducing the bureaucracy by condemning hundreds of thousands of Peruvians to unemployment. That would be like plugging a hole and then opening up a chasm. It is a question of launching a program to reconstruct the entire society, freeing up a

series of productive energies that would both shrink the state and eliminate the useless bureaucracy and, at the same time, create new sources of employment. Thus, there can be a rational transfer from artificial jobs to truly productive jobs. That is perfectly possible if at the same time the state is restructured, public enterprises are privatized, the entire public administration is de-bureaucratized, and small, medium, and large businesses are allowed to truly devote their energies to the creation of wealth rather than to obtaining privileges, spoils, monopolies, or oligopolies from the state, which is the way the system works today. All of that should be done within an overall plan of restructuring, not just of the state, but of Peruvian society as a whole."

**On Terrorism**

"The great error that has been made in combating terrorism has been the transfer of that responsibility to the police or the armed forces, as if the terrorists were merely threatening law and order. That is not the case; terrorism is a threat to civil society, to all Peruvians who want a democratic and civilized future for our country. Therefore, the responsibility and leadership in the struggle against terrorism should fall on the shoulders of civilian authorities, beginning with the president of the republic. He should mobilize public opinion and call upon the public to enlist in a war that has been declared on civil society as a whole. The military and the police should simply be an instrument of civil society, but it is the civil society, mobilized in all spheres in which it is being attacked. This is what Venezuela did during the era of Romulo Betancourt, and not only did Betancourt's democratic government defeat the guerrillas, but democracy emerged stronger."

[CARETAS] But the terrorists of Ayacucho are different from the guerrillas of the 1970s.

[Vargas Llosa] They are much more criminal because they are more cold-blooded and abstract in their way of doing things. Indeed, it should be much easier to mobilize public opinion against a fanatic movement that does not hesitate to kill children, old people, women, to prove dogmatic points. The guerrillas of the 1960s at least had a certain romantic aura of idealistic and generous youths who truly desired social justice. Today we face fanatic groups that run counter not only to history, but also to the possibilities of a civilized existence for our society. Civilian authorities should go out and do battle, creating a public opinion that is absolutely motivated to confront this threat not only to democracy, but to the very foundations of civilization in Peru.

**On Drug Trafficking**

"The government that takes office in 1990 should be absolutely clear and radical. Drug trafficking should be combated because it represents a very grave threat to the health of the population, and in particular to young people; and because the economic power of the drug traffickers can pose a deadly threat to our democratic system, since that power already enables them to corrupt government officials, the military, and the judiciary. Like terrorism, drug trafficking should be combated as a means of defending the democratic system and civilization in Peru. Furthermore, it is very important to make the developed countries, which contain the markets that provide the great incentive for the manufacture of cocaine, understand that they must cooperate economically in the eradication of coca. Because that is an economic problem that the democratic government must take into consideration. Developed countries must play an active role, because they are equally involved in the problem."

## * Miners Strike Costs Country $5 Million Daily

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[Text] The daily income in foreign exchange that the country used to earn on its mining products has fallen from U.S. $6 million to approximately $1 million as a result of the indefinite strike called by the Federation of Miners and Metalworkers of Peru (FTMMSP).

If the conflict is not resolved, however, the biggest problem will emerge in a month, when the paralyzed mining companies' inventories will be exhausted. And the 33 companies that have been struck generate between 70 and 80 percent of national mining production.

The most serious aspect of the matter is that no short-term solution is in sight, because a judicial stumbling block stands in the way. In the middle of this year, the Labor Ministry ruled out any discussion of a single national list of demands presented by the Federation. Nevertheless, the judicial branch later ruled that the request was valid, and this ruling encouraged the national strike.

In view of its inability to prevent the forceful measure, the government issued a Supreme Decree ordering management to discuss the list of demands. Management responded by appealing to the courts, and the latter's granting of their request for an injunction freed them of the obligation to negotiate under those conditions.

Consequently, the two appeals must now go all the way to the Supreme Court, which will make the final ruling. And that could conceivably take a long time.